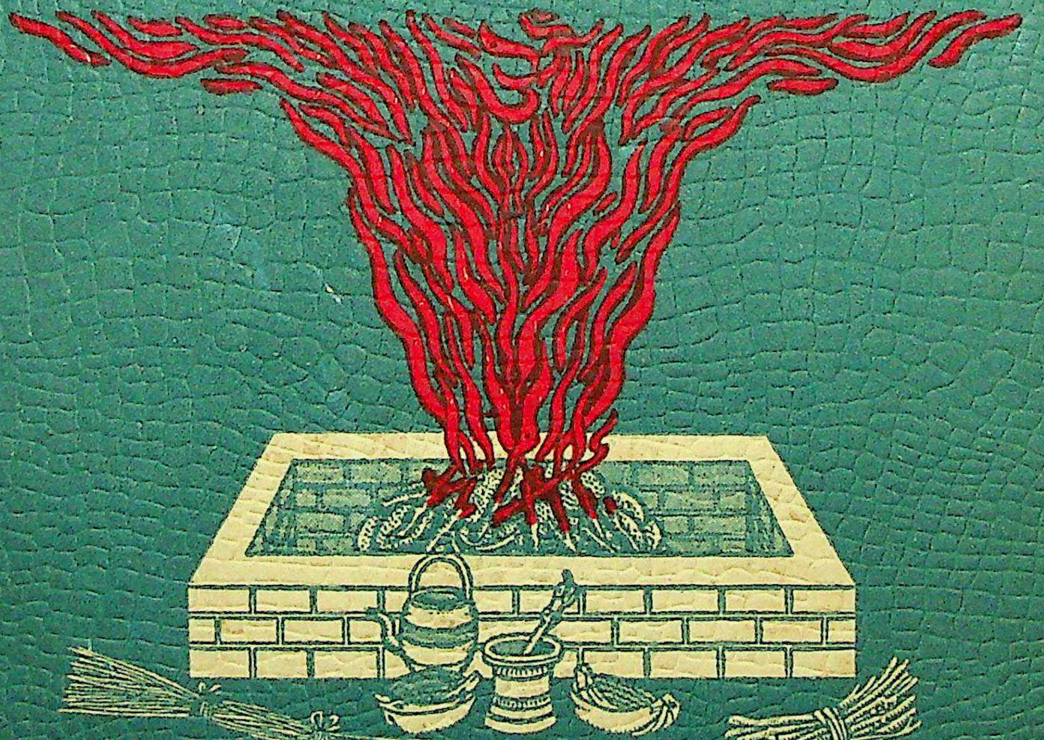
POET-PHILOSOPHERS OF THE ṚGVEDA



DR. C. KUNHAN RAJA

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THE ṚGVEDA contains poetry of the highest order set in a background of ritual and philosophy; one can also find canons of literary criticism of the greatest merit in many places. Several hymns furnish the starting points of the later-day *darśanas* of the Sāṅkhya, Nyāya and Vedānta schools of thought.

The Ṛgveda is based on an earlier civilization, as a sense of pride in the achievements of their forefathers is evident in many utterances of these seers. They are rooted in the past, are aware of the continuity of their culture and exhibit consistency of thought and a progressive outlook. The combination of religion, philosophy, art and literature in the Ṛgveda speaks for the unique genius of our ancient Indian sages.

In this book, Dr. C. Kunhan Raja gives us the life and thought of prominent poet-philosophers of the Ṛgveda, the story of creation and evolution as described in its hymns and the ideal of harmony and unity portrayed in one of its hymns.

In the Appendix, thirteen important hymns of the Ṛgveda on which most of the book is based are given in Roman script with the translation in English under each verse.

Notes on various passages in the several chapters of the book are collected together at the end of the book.

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VEDIC AND PRE-VEDIC

BY

DR. C. KUNHAN RAJA

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DEDICATED

TO

K. F. GELDNER

under whom I studied Veda and Avesta at Marburg

State Museum Library Lucknow

PREFACE

In 1956, Messrs Ganesh and Co. of Madras who have published a very large number of important books relating to Indian philosophy, religion and culture, were kind enough to bring out my edition of a poem from the *Ṛgveda* by Dīrghatamas, beginning with the words " Asya Vāmasya " under that title. The poem is full of philosophy; since we do not know the symbols, we are not able to understand many of the ideas which the author could have had in his mind when he was describing the nature of the world. It has become a sort of riddle. There are two ancient commentaries for the poem and I have added both of them to that edition, with a translation of my own and with short notes, giving the meanings and other details of the words.

At that time I had a plan to bring out similar editions of other poems having a philosophical basis and I selected a dozen more of them. But my work in the Andhra University at that time became too heavy for me to spare any time for such an undertaking. During those years I had been delivering some popular lectures in the University, and one of them related to Indian philosophy; on the basis of this course of lectures I prepared a book under the Title of " *Some Fundamental Problems in Indian Philosophy* ". The book came out early in 1961, published by Messrs Motilal Banarsidass of Delhi. There I have discussed some problems relating to the formation of the world and the nature of man as found in the Vedas. At that time I fell ill seriously and my condition had become so precarious at the end of 1960 that I had to resign my post in the Andhra University and take rest at Bangalore.

During my recovery in 1961, I had been preparing the plan for continuing the work on the philosophy of the Vedas; but my own library had been locked up in packing cases, transported from Waltair. It was only by the close of the year that I could move to my own home and arrange the library properly. I decided to take up the work of studying the philosophical poems in the *Ṛgveda*. When I published the poem of Dīrghatamas many people asked me if I could not give an explanation of the whole poem, as well. So I decided to change the entire plan and give an explanation of the poems as the main content of the book and to add the poems themselves with full English meanings at the end. Since I have already published the poem of Dīrghatamas, I am not adding the text and meanings of that poem in this book. I have slightly revised some of my interpretations given in the earlier book; such cases are very few and can be easily known from my interpretation of the contents of that poem in this book.

I am starting the book with Dīrghatamas, since he is the foremost philosopher in the Vedas. Since Yama is spoken of as the one who for the first time found out the Path, I had a desire to start the book with an explanation of the philosophical implication of the information which I could gather about him from the Vedas. But ultimately I decided to start the book with Dīrghatamas. Dīrghatamas is essentially a poet and he glorifies the position of a poet; I gave the next place to Bṛhaspati who too has a poem glorifying poetry. Having taken up these two poets, I thought that I might follow up these first two chapters with Śunaḥśepa, another great philosopher poet of the *Ṛgveda*. Then I took up the pre-Vedic poets and philosophers and gave the first place among them to Yama, as the first mortal to know the Path, and his half brother Manu came after that. The Aṅgirases form the most important group among those who searched for and discovered and also recovered the cows, the light of wisdom. Then there are a few others, individuals and groups coming round them, and the next chapter is devoted to them. There are five poems relating to the formation of the world from an Absolute; they are explained in the next chapter. The last chapter relates to a very interesting factor in Indian thought, the harmony in differences in doctrines. Besides the five poems relating to the formation of the world from the Absolute, I have added poems from Śunaḥśepa, Bṛhaspati and Yama.

The selection that I have made does not exhaust the field of philosophical poems in the *Ṛgveda*. My plan is to present the founders of religion and philosophy, and in this connection I have made a selection. If I go beyond this limitation, I will have to deal with all the poets whose compositions are incorporated in the *Ṛgveda*. Then there are many poems of a far greater importance found in the *Atharvaveda* relating to religion and philosophy. My selection relates to types. Yama is a type in himself, having been spoken of as the first to find the Path. Manu was the first to institute the religious rituals. I added Bṛhaspati because of his glorification of poetry as a philosophy. The Aṅgirases and others helped Indra to find out the cows, wisdom. Among the poets, I selected Śunaḥśepa and Dīrghatamas since they represent certain types of approach to the problem of truth.

In a recent publication under the title, "*A source book in Indian Philosophy*" by S. Radhakrishnan and Charles A. Moore, many poems of great importance have been translated and incorporated as selections from the *Ṛgveda*. Max Müller gives two poems in his *Six Systems of Philosophy* and Radhakrishnan gives one poem in his *History of Indian Philosophy*.[1]

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[1] X-129 is found in all the three. X-121, X-14, X-82 and X-90 are in Radhakrishnan and Moore.

But a more complete collection in a single volume of all such poems will be of great help for the students of Indian Philosophy, and I am preparing such a collection.

I have never believed in the theory of the " evolution " of philosophy in India, as now available in the *Ṛgveda* and the later texts like the *Upaniṣads* and the classical systems, from pastoral poetry relating to Animism and Anthropomorphism through Polytheism and Henotheism to Monotheism and Monism. In the *Ṛgveda* I have been able to detect only what Max Müller terms Henotheism (perhaps in its revised form of Kat-henotheism). I have never seen a Monotheism in the *Ṛgveda* nor in any current of thought in India similar to the Theism of, say, Christianity and Islam. There is a clear Monism; but that Monism is not quite what is meant by Monism in the terminology of later Indian Philosophy. The Monism in the *Ṛgveda* is a Matter-cum-Spirit unity and not the pure Spirit of latter-day Monism, in which matter is thought of only as an illusory transformation from the pure Spirit, and not as a reality. The *Ṛgvedic* Philosophy is not at all anti-materialistic. In my book on " The Vedas " published by the Andhra University, I have briefly presented my view of the philosophy of the Vedas in Ch. XI.

I do not know if the theory of the Five Elements had been developed among the philosophers in the *Ṛgvedic* times. The terms *Pṛthivī* (Earth), *Āpas* (Water) and *Tejas* (Fire) are seen in the *Ṛgveda* and the terms may have some meaning not far different from what they represent in the latter-day systems. I find it very difficult to identify the *Vāyu* (Air) of the *Ṛgveda* with the Element of the later times bearing that name. The term *Ākāśa* does not appear in the *Ṛgveda*. But we find a gradation of the material content of the world according to their fineness. The relation of this graded arrangement of the material content of the world found in the Vedas with the Five Elements of the Classical systems of philosophy requires further study.

In the Sāṅkhya system we have the three *Guṇas* or constituents, namely, the *Sattva*, the *Rajas* and the *Tamas*. The word *Sattva* does not appear in the *Ṛgveda*, though similar words from that same root, like *Satya* are found in it. *Rajas* and *Tamas* appear in the *Ṛgveda*; but they do not have the same connotation in the *Ṛgveda* as in the latter-day Sāṅkhya. *Tamas* may be thought of as the material content of the world and *Rajas* may be associated with energy, what produces activity. *Sattva* may be the light of which we find frequent mention in the *Ṛgveda*.

The latter-day systems of philosophy must be traced to earlier stages through the *Upaniṣads* to the *Ṛgveda* and also to a much earlier stage of Pre-Vedic philosophy. In this book I have only attempted to introduce the topic. For this there are two source books needed. One is a collection of all the pieces in the *Ṛgveda* and in the *Atharvaveda* bearing on philosophy, both as complete poems and as selection of verses from the poems. The other is a collection of all information about philosophy, examining all the terms and all the usages of such terms in the poetry of the Vedas.

When I was preparing this book I had to depend entirely on my own library; there are no other facilities in the place where I am working at it. I had to depend on Dr. K. Kunjunni Raja, a former student of mine, now a member of the Sanskrit Department of the University of Madras, for supplying me with all the information which I could not collect from my own resources here. He has been always helpful to me and I could with full confidence depend on what he supplies, as quite reliable. I express my appreciation of his help and also my thanks to him for the help.

I am very much obliged to Messrs Ganesh and Co., Madras for kindly undertaking the responsibility of printing this book and publishing it. The entire book was ready in the beginning of 1962. But the publishers had some difficulty to secure the services of a press to print the book. The Vasanta Press, where my previous book and the publications of Messrs Ganesh and Co., were being printed, was too busy with their own work to undertake any outside publication; there was some delay on this account. I made a personal request to the Vasanta Press to accept this book as a special case and they were kind enough to respond favourably to my request. But the Press could not immediately start the work. The printing was started only in October of last year and when the Press took up the work, the progress was very rapid and the book has come out within a very few months, though the Press had other works of their own to complete. As usual, the printing has been done in an exemplary way. The proof reading was done by the press and I had only to approve what they submitted to me. I record my special thanks to the Press for taking up the work and for finishing it in such a short time, and also for the quality of the printing, which has been always of a high standard in the Press.

C. KUNHAN RAJA

NAIMISHAM
Dr. C. Kunhan Raja Academy
Cultural Centre for World Harmony

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CONTENTS

CHAP. PAGE

Preface . . . . . . vii-xii

Introduction . . . . . . xv-xxx

I. Dīrghatamas 1-49

II. Bṛhaspati 50-79

III. Śunaḥsépa 80-96

IV. Yama 97-143

V. Manu 144-164

VI. Aṅgiras 165-188

VII. A Few Other Teachers 189-220

i. Yayāti, ii. Māndhātā, iii. Priyamedha, iv. Virūpa, v. The Navagvas, vi. Daśagvas, vii. The Seven Poets, viii. Bhṛgu, ix. Atri, x. Atharvan, xi. Dadhyañc, xii. Uśanā, xiii. Kutsa, xiv. Kaṇva, xv. Miscellaneous

VIII. Formation of the World 221-252

i. Evolution: *Ṛgveda* X-129

ii. Transformation: *Ṛgveda* X-90 (Puruṣa)

iii. Construction:

A. Hiraṇya-garbha (Golden Womb): Puruṣa X-121

B. Viśvakarman: X-81, 82

iv. Comparison

IX. Saṁvanana—Integration X-191 253-258

Appendix: *Ṛgveda* I-24, 25; X-10, 14, 71, 72, 81, 82, 90, 121, 129, 135, 154 259-304

Notes 305-330

INTRODUCTION

When Sanskrit and the Ancient Wisdom came to the notice of Western scholars in recent times, it was not the oldest texts that they studied first. The earliest records, represented by the Vedas, attracted their interest very much later. At that time, Greek had emerged from its formal study into the scholarly regions of critical and historical research and evaluation with a view to present to their public the value of Greek literature for understanding the evolution of human civilization.

Greek literature itself gives some information about earlier civilizations. Much was gleaned from it about conditions of men and the development of cultures prior to the origins and expansion of Greek civilization; but not one of them was regarded as a real civilization. Modern scholars have continued to adopt the same attitude when they started an investigation into the origins and development of civilization among men. They assumed that Greek literature alone marked the beginnings of real human civilization.

There were some important factors that influenced the current of Western thought regarding the value of earlier civilizations relative to the Greek civilization. The first was the benumbing effect of Biblical chronology according to which the age of the world was computed in terms of four or five millennia only. The age of the Indian civilization had to be wedged in somewhere between the Biblical date of Creation and later historical times. So they fixed it arbitrarily somewhere in the middle of the second millennium B. C. and allowed it to mark some beginnings of human civilization.

They were of course aware of the civilizations of Mesopotamia and Egypt which were much earlier than the date ascribed to Indian civilization. The effect of this arrangement was to give a place to Indian civilization not far removed from the beginnings of man's life on this earth, but at the same time dub it as ' primitive '.

The Ṛg Veda which forms the earliest record of the Indians was taken as the starting point in the development of civilization in India, and as such it was supposed to form the record of only a primitive culture. Only thus could Greek civilization be taken as continuing the real civilization of man and making further contribution to human civilization. In taking measurements on the path of progress, the civilizations known to the Greeks as prior to their own might have contributed some material for their own beginnings; and to that extent they themselves did not develop anything that can be termed civilization. But at the same time, an exception was made, and the Greeks were credited with originating for the first time in recorded history science, orderly political life, rational philosophy and the arts. Such were the assumptions which vitiated the western approach to the study of Indian civilization.

The Vedas, being the earliest literary record of the Aryan people, must be regarded as the record of a nomadic people, moving about from place to place in search of water and pasture for their cattle, afraid of the phenomena of nature, believing in certain powers abiding in the various phenomena, propitiating them with their simple poetry and with their simple rituals so that they could secure favours from them and also avoid their anger. Philosophy dealing with the world and its origination, with a Supreme Power and man's relation to that Supreme Power and to the world outside, began to develop among the Indian people only at a later stage and came to anything that could be called philosophy in what may be termed the Middle Ages, a few centuries after Christ. Even when some real philosophy developed in India, it could never become truly rational; there was the element of some "Authority" to regulate beliefs and also some goal to attain through philosophy. Thus it was neither rational nor disinterested. The goal itself was not to understand the real world outside, but to find an escape from that world and to reach another world. Thus, philosophy was never a philosophy about the world of actuality, but a philosophy of a world beyond the reach of man and beyond the true interest of man.

According to the estimation of modern scholars, there is seen even in the earliest stage, a contrast between Matter and Spirit and an eagerness in man to escape from this world of material entanglements to a region of the pure Spirit. What can be regarded as philosophy in the Vedas is only this effort to grope through the regions of gloom to find out the door to the regions of light; the light itself was clearly seen only at the time of the *Upaniṣads*.

Besides the contrast between Matter and Spirit, another contrast, even another conflict, arose between ritualism and intellectualism. The Brahmins were tied on to ritualism and they associated the Vedas, closely related to ritualism, with some kind of mysterious sanctity. Then there were the Kshatriyas, the warrior class, who had a better sense of freedom, and it was they who developed the intellectual activities found in the *Upaniṣads* which culminated in the Teachings of Buddha. There was a real conflict between the Brahmins and the Kshatriyas. The original Vedas and the later *Upaniṣads* were set one against the other and the Brahmins and the Kshatriyas were placed in charge of these two conflicting currents, they themselves taking up the two mutually conflicting ways of thinking. Thus Indian history became an analysis of conflicting elements, with nothing that can be called a unifying genius; it is a study of contrasts, even of conflicts.

I have never subscribed to such a view about the intellectual activities in India. I have never accepted the view that the available texts of the Vedas represent the beginning of Indian civilization; they are records relating to a far later stage in the development of Indian civilization. According to me, the extant Vedas are the records of a rather later stage, with a long antecedent period when too there was a high civilization developing among the people; there must have been also a high-class literature developed during this antecedent stage. They are all lost to us. In the eyes of the persons whose literary contribution is available in the extant Vedic literature, they were the heirs to a rich and long-standing civilization and the extant text is reminiscent of such a long anterior stage in their civilization. They speak of their ancient forefathers who had established their rituals of worship for the gods. They sing in adoration of the gods, following the models of the songs of adorations of the ancients.

There was a law governing the origin and development of the world, and the rituals of worship they were performing on the model of the rituals established by their ancient forefathers conformed to the Law governing the progression of the world. There was a unity among the three factors, the rituals, the art in the form of poetry and song, and the philosophy regarding the origin of the world and man's relation to this world. There were no rituals without the art of poetry and singing and there were no arts of poetry and song without the occasion of the rituals. It is difficult to find one piece of poetry in the *Ṛgveda* without the atmosphere of ritualism; the poetry formed an integral part of the rituals. The rituals represented the origination and progression of the world.

We never come across a single hint of even the faintest nature regarding a conflict between the warrior class and the

Brahmin class. These two, along with the people in general, formed a single nation, properly integrated in their emotional and intellectual actualities; they were all proud of the achievements of their forefathers and they were full of hope regarding their present and their future. As a matter of fact, a sense of pride in the achievements of the forefathers had been one of the most prominent traits in their genius. Whatever may be their own internal differences regarding the problems of God and the origination of the world, they were united in their pride of their heritage. This tone of pride is very conspicuous throughout the Vedas; it is continuous and persistent in the thoughts of the people.

Along with this contact with the past there is also the sense of progression; they never believed that their forefathers had accomplished everything that was worth accomplishing and that their responsibility and function were only to understand and follow and preserve the ancient heritage. They made the rich tradition richer through their own contributions. The poets always speak about their new contributions to the art of poetry. Thus there is consistency, continuity and progression in their civilization. This is what we note in the literature known as the Vedas.

The religion and the philosophy which can be understood in the Vedas are a continuation and a progression from an earlier stage. We have to study the earlier stages in the religion and philosophy of the Vedic period from the available text. There is no actual text available for such a study. We have to depend on what the poets of the Vedic period say about their forefathers, to know the pre-Vedic and the early Vedic stages. Here we have to examine two main categories of such earlier leaders of the Vedic thought. There are some who are known only by statements within the available Vedas. Others are referred to in the available Vedas and they too have contributed something to the extant collection.

So far as the origination of the world is concerned we find two main currents of thought. According to one view, there is an Absolute, a uniform continuum with nothing that can be related to the life activities of the world of differences, movements and changes. But the life essence is there, and this life essence gave the impetus to allow the world to evolve from within itself. The Absolute and its content and its evolution are the prominent factors in this current of thought. There is no active agent at work. The evolution is from within and by itself.

There is another current of thought in which the Absolute has the life element as the prominent feature. Although that Absolute is not an agent in the change from the absolute state to diversification, in the sense in which the agent is external to the changing world, yet the prominence of the life aspect cannot be lost sight of in this current. The material for the world of change and movement came from within this very Absolute, and the life force needed for the initiation of the change also came from within the Absolute. But when the change was initiated, the agents arose from this initial stage itself, and from that stage there is a difference between the agents for the change and the changing world. The Absolute itself is not an agent.

This current had a further development. The material for the changing world and the initiative for the change in the world came from within the Absolute; but even after the change was initiated, the Absolute functioned as an active agent for the further changes too. There is an Almighty, Omniscient, All-pervading Power functioning as an agent in the later stages of the changes too.

Of these three currents, either we may consider the first and the second as originally having been a single main current which became diverted into two channels, or we may consider the first as one main current and the second and the third together as another single current which split up into two channels. The first and the third are very far apart from each other, while the second is equally related to the other two. The classification is a minor matter. The Sāṅkhya, the Vedānta and the Nyāya of later days represent these three currents of the Vedas. There is no " Creation " in the sense of some Almighty and Omniscient Agent bringing into being what was not existent previously. In Indian thought there is only a change of the Absolute into phenomena; the phenomena and the Absolute are both positive realities. There is no agent external to the world. There are three main factors in this change: matter, intelligence and activity. If we keep the matter as prominent, then we have the first of the three currents; if we keep the intelligence factor as prominent, then we get the second of the three currents, and if we keep the activity side in prominence, then we have the third current. All the three are within the Absolute. The difference is in the view of the relation between the Absolute and the changing world, the way in which there was the initiation and the progression of the change. None of the three can exist or function without the other two. We may use the three terms of *Tamas*, *Sattva* and *Rajas* to represent the three aspects, respectively.

Since the Absolute is a combination of the three factors, the evolutes too must be inextricable combinations of these three factors; there can be the predominence of one or the other of them; but there is no case of only one being present in an evolute or of one missing in an evolute. Man is sentient, active matter. We may as well say that it is sentience in active matter or activity in sentient matter that can be called a man. A process of distillation, of isolation of any one from the combination, is impossible. It is not quite correct to speak of the Absolute as a combination of these three distinct factors. The Absolute is a unity which exhibits itself in three aspects in the initiation and in the progression of the process of diversification.

We hear much of the three worlds in the Cosmology of the *Ṛgveda*. There are the three worlds of *Pṛthivī*, *Antarikṣa* and *Dyaus*, the Earth, the Atmospheric region and the Celestial region. In the *Pṛthivī* region, matter predominates, in the *Antarikṣa* region, activity predominates and in the *Dyaus* region, sentience predominates. These are the three layers in the course of evolution on the basis of fineness so far as the matter side is concerned; in the Celestial region, matter is least prominent, and as such there is extreme fineness, and in the Atmospheric region, there is a greater ratio of matter in relation to the Celestial region and that region is grosser than the Celestial region. The Earthly region is the grossest. The earth and the atmosphere and the heaven are only symbols to denote the three layers. It is these three that developed into the first three of the Five Elements in the latter-day philosophical thought pattern. The other two of the Five Elements are represented by the Dark Region (*Kṛṣṇa Rajas*) and the *Parama Vyoman* in the Ṛgvedic Cosmology. Sound (*Vāk*) is in that highest *Vyoman*. The first impetus for the diversification came from the *Tapas* in the Absolute; this is the impetus represented by *Vāyu* in the later systems of thought. This is what is called *Sparśa* or touch, which is nothing but the impetus from the *Tapas*.

If we examine the *Ṛgvedic* poetry, it would be found that the rituals and the symbolism of the Bull are very prominently connected with the *Antarikṣa-loka* (Atmospheric region) and the wisdom and the Horse are closely connected with the *Dyuloka* (Celestial region). The Maruts, with their physical force helped Indra in killing Vṛtra and in releasing the water, that are in the *Antarikṣa-loka*. Bṛhaspati and the Aṅgirases are in a similar way, closely associated with Indra in recovering the light or the cows. Yama saw the

Path. This must be the illumination, the recovery of light.

There are references to the discovery of the Fire; Mātariśvan showed the Fire to Yama. This must have reference to the institution of the system of rituals in which Fire has a very prominent part. There is also the Soma in ritualism. Although we cannot disentangle ritualism from wisdom, yet there are the two distinct currents. Manu is most prominently connected with the institution of the system of rituals. The Aṅgirases, including Bṛhaspati who also belongs to the Aṅgiras family, are chiefly connected with the winning of light. Ritualism is connected with orderly life and wisdom is connected with the understanding of the origination and the process of the evolution of the world from the Absolute. Manu is essentially the founder of the religion and the others are the founders of the philosophy. But the philosophers were connected with ritualism and the ritualists were also poets, wise persons. We see in the *Ṛgveda* more of wisdom and philosophy than of ritualism. The civilization that developed in India is the incorporation of wisdom into ritualism, development of wisdom with a ritualistic environment, organisation of ritualism with a high element of wisdom in it. All the three are the same. There is not a single poem that is not connected with a ritualistic situation. This combination is the essence of the Vedic culture; this continued throughout the ages, when the ancient thoughts remained a living force in the nation.

In this combination, we find a Śunaḥśepa with his devotion to and faith in a God, a Dīrghatamas conscious of the great change that came over him when he saw the illumination of wisdom and when he thereby acquired the talents of a true poet. We see Yama having found out the Path and the Aṅgirases who were associated with Indra in the recovery of light. We see Manu who established the system of rituals that regulate man's life. We see the atheism, the agnosticism, in the first of the poems relating to the formation of the world and an idealistic pantheism in the second poem relating to the Person (*Puruṣa*). We see the theism with a pantheistic touch in the last three poems in that Chapter.

The *Ṛgveda* is not a text-book on philosophy. We see poetry within a ritualistic and philosophical environment. We see the religion and the philosophy only as reflections in that poetry from the back-ground. The poetry of the *Ṛgveda* is impossible without a real philosophy behind it. A close study of the poetry of the *Ṛgveda* will provide sufficient material, in the form of such reflections, for forming a fairly clear picture of the philosophy of the age. I am placing this book before scholars only as a preliminary to such a close and analytical study of the *Ṛgveda* from the philosopher's point of view. I will present all such facts to the world of scholars in a subsequent book. Neither the *Upaniṣads* nor the later systems are growths in a desolate region of waste land. They are natural growths from the philosophy of the Vedic and even of the pre-Vedic period.

A feature that is of special interest for a student of cultures is the close relation of philosophy with poetry. A philosopher is a poet; a man who has realised the truth is so recognised only when he is able to express his realisation through the medium of poetic language; there is also an indication that poetry is the only medium through which truth can be expressed. The philosophy in the Veda is also a philosophy of language and a philosophy of poetry. The *Ṛgveda* contains not merely high-class poetry, but also canons of literary criticism of the highest order that have not been superseded, or surpassed either in India or in any other country, even in modern times. A presentation of the full philosophy in the *Ṛgveda* is also a presentation of the full literary art of the *Ṛgveda* along with literary criticism. Thus, my study of the *Ṛgveda* will take a twofold form: one is that of a study of the philosophy and the other is that of a study of the literary values, in the *Ṛgveda*. I am collecting all the information relating to literary value available in the text of the *Ṛgveda*. All the points are being collected, analysed and arranged in an orderly way for presentation in book-form.

I consider this combination of art and literature with religion, science and philosophy as the unique feature in the genius of India, a feature that is present even in the earliest phase of the records of the civilization of India. Besides the close relation of poetry with the Supreme wisdom about the Absolute of the world, it is noticed that from the very beginning poetry became a medium for scientific purposes. Two works of Śaunaka on Vedic exegesis, the *Ṛgveda Prātiśākhya* and the *Bṛhaddevatā* are in poetic form, using metre for the language. And they, especially the *Bṛhaddevatā*, contain really poetic passages. This combination of intellect with emotions, art with intellectualism, continued in India. Man has both an intellect and emotion combined within himself, and the complete satisfaction of man is in the satisfaction of both the elements. Scientific, philosophical and religious books were written in beautiful, artistic, literary form, in poetry, and poetry has always been full of what will satisfy the intellect of man. Thus man developed as a unit. Intellect and emotions were not developed in separate compartments nor by separate agents. Intellect has always a tendency to analyse and emotions always bring things together. It is this influence of art in the development of the nation's culture that helped the continuity of the cultural progression in the nation. Greece had art, Greece had science, Greece had philosophy. But they exhibited themselves in separate persons and were never combined in the same genius. That is what we find in the development of the culture in other countries; this is the reason for the intolerance which politicians and priests exhibited towards intellectuals pursuing independent ways of thinking. Such intolerance resulted in persecutions of intellectuals in other countries; even teachers of religions, the founders of religions, were not safe from this intolerance and persecution. India had tolerance because of this combination of emotion and intellect within the same person. This is a feature that has not received proper attention in modern times in estimating the value of Indian culture.

There is room for a criticism about the contents of this book in relation to its Title. Practically the book is based on poems selected from the First and the Tenth Books of the *Ṛgveda*. They are supposed to be the latest among the collections contained in the *Ṛgveda*. How can they be Pre-Vedic or even Vedic? In the context of dealing with the founders of the religion and philosophy of the Vedas, I will be expected to deal with the earliest portions of the *Ṛgveda*, which alone can form the foundation.

I have never subscribed to the view that the First and the Tenth Books of the *Ṛgveda* represent the final stages in the development of the *Ṛgvedic* text. The view usually held is that philosophy came into the scene of the Vedic Lore only at a relatively late stage and that it is only in the *Upaniṣads* that we have anything that can be accepted as philosophy; in the *Ṛgveda* we have only gropings through the glooms, of those who were attempting to find out the light regarding the truth of the universe. But my own view is that the extant text of the *Ṛgveda* contains only the compositions of the later poets who had contributed to the present collection. There must have been an immense collection of an early period that is now lost to us, of which we can have some information only from the references to such early poetic compositions found in the available texts. Philosophy had grown to a fairly great height by that time; really poetry began to develop

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properly only after the development of philosophy, and philosophy became true philosophy only when poetry became a high-class art. In this way a philosophical note does not mean a later stage for a poem, in the *Ṛgveda*.

Yama, Aṅgiras and others are often mentioned as " our ancient fathers ". Śunaḥśepa is mentioned along with the events hinted in his poems, in the fifth Book and the events seem to have been known to the poet of the fifth Book as a rather ancient one. Although Dīrghatamas is not mentioned elsewhere, outside of his own poems, he had a son named Kakṣīvān. He is known to the poets of the Books of the *Ṛgveda* that are recognised as ancient ones. That is enough evidence for the antiquity of Dīrghatamas as a poet; and there is no reason why we should not accept Kakṣīvān as a son of Dīrghatamas. Stories about Kakṣīvān and the protection he had received from the Aśvins had become familiar tales for the poets whose compositions are included in the other Books of the *Ṛgveda*, recognised as the early portions; this is just like Śunaḥśepa and his story, as known to the poets accepted as early ones among the composers of the *Ṛgveda*.

I have included the poems in this book because I am convinced that they represent the early stages in the development of the philosophy of the *Ṛgveda*. The philosophy of the same character is found scattered throughout the poetry of the Veda. I have selected these poems only as specimens and not at all as exhaustive of the store from which materials for the study of philosophy can be collected relating to the *Ṛgveda*. I deal only with the *Ṛgveda*. I have not selected any piece from the *Atharvaveda*. Even when the same piece occurs in the *Atharvaveda* with alterations and variations, I have taken note of only the *Ṛgvedic* version of the piece.

There are certain fundamental problems that will arise if we regard the poems included in this book as specimens for the philosophy of the pre-vedic and early Vedic days. It is generally supposed that the *Ṛgveda* started its growth soon after the Aryans separated themselves from their companions in Iran and reached India; this event of the migration of the Aryans into India is put at about the beginning of the second millennium B.C.; the *Ṛgveda* itself started in the middle of the millennium. The general view is that the *Avesta*, though later in age than the *Ṛgveda*, represents, both in the matter of the language structure (meanings of words and grammar) and in the matter of the contents, a stage earlier than the age of the *Ṛgveda*, the age when the two peoples lived together to the west of the Indian territory.

How did they start on the development of such a rich literature with such a deep philosophy so soon after their separation from the Iranian branch that continued in the western regions? Is it that the *Ṛgveda* is only a continuation of the thought of the Aryans when they were living together? If that be so, what became of that thought-treasure so far as the western part of the nation is concerned? It will have to be said that the literature was lost in which the thoughts were recorded even on the western side while it had its continuity and growth on the Indian side. What is the cause of this ruin of the literature? This question will have to be considered. Was it the activity of the Assyrian Empire on the west of that region which led to the ruin of that culture and literature? If a similar culture had been developing among the western part of the Aryan nation, then what has been preserved from the wealth of the west in the *Avesta* must be a very poor remnant.

Further we cannot ignore the great change that the religion and philosophy must have undergone when the people migrated from the western side to India. The religion recorded in the *Avesta* is Monotheistic. There are the two factors in the world, the Light and the Darkness. Is it that in India, Monotheism gave way to what is usually termed

Henotheism? The usual line of development accepted by the students of the history of human thought is from Polytheism through Henotheism to Monotheism; a change from Monotheism to Henotheism is not what is recognised in historical criticism. In the Veda we do not find any sign of a Darkness side on a par with the Light side. Did they drop off the Darkness factor in India? What were the influences that could have sprung up in India to effect such changes in the religion and philosophy? Again, the Monotheism of the *Avesta* is quite different from the Monotheism they are able to find in the *Ṛgveda*. In the *Ṛgveda*, the world is an eternal manifestation; there is only a transformation of an Absolute into the phenomena, and this transformation is a continuous process, without a beginning and without an active, Almighty Agent. In the *Avesta*, there is an Almighty God who is the creator of the world and its Law and also the regulator and controller of that Law and of man's destinies.

There was an Assyrian Empire. There, they had a great God also. There can be no Empire without a God and there can be no such God without an Empire also. When the Aryans had been developing a particular line of thought of realism, a line of thought in which the world is an eternal reality with change as an eternal process requiring no agent to start it or to regulate and control it, it is quite possible that on its borders along a region where there was an Empire and also a Great God, the thought line got deflected from the original course and adapted itself to the currents that were strong along that region. Thus we have to accept that it is not only in the matter of the production of the literature known as the *Ṛgveda* that there is priority in relation to the *Avesta*; even in the matter of the development of thoughts represented by the two texts there is priority for the *Ṛgveda* in relation to the *Avesta*. The *Ṛgveda* represents the original Aryan culture and the *Avesta* represents that culture altered through the influence of the Assyrian culture. India had neither an empire nor a border with an empire. As such there were no influences that could alter its course of absolute realism into one of creation by a Creator God, and also its course of the self-sufficiency of the world into one of the dependence of the world on a God for protection against an equally powerful Evil Element. When there is Good and Evil, one set against the other, and when a God becomes a necessity for the protection of the Good, then the so-called "Ethical Element" in the religion too becomes a natural sequel. It is this difference that explains the lack of an "Ethical Element" in the religion of the *Ṛgveda*, as interpreted by modern scholars. Many questions will arise if I start from this point and proceed along the lines indicated in this book and a detailed discussion of such and related topics is reserved for further books which are in preparation.

POET-PHILOSOPHERS OF THE ṚGVEDA

I. DĪRGHATAMAS

1. Dīrghatamas is one of the profoundest philosophers of the Veda. There are twenty-five poems of his included in the *Ṛgveda* collection. The first twenty-four are of the usual type, addressed to the various gods. Then there is a long poem at the end of the collection with fifty-two verses in it. It is full of philosophy abounding in mysticism and symbolism. We have completely lost the meaning of the symbols that he makes use of in expressing his philosophical ideas, and for this reason, his poetry becomes a mystery in many places; it is a riddle, an enigma.

2. The poems of Dīrghatamas start with adorations of Agni; after two poems on Agni, there is one that is called the Āprī poem, in which certain specific divinities are praised in a definite order. Then the poems about Agni come up again and there are eight of them. Then he takes up Mitrāvaruṇa in three poems, and in the first of them, the opening verse is addressed only to Mitra and not to the dual divinity of Mitra and Varuṇa. The three following poems are about Viṣṇu and two poems come after them about the Aśvins. The two succeeding poems have Dyāvā-pṛthivī (heaven and earth) as the theme, and there is one poem about the Ṛbhus, three gods who were men, sons of Sudhanvān, and who later became gods and partakers of the Soma offerings on account of their excellent works. Then there are two poems about the horse.

It is after this that the philosophical poem comes. It must be on account of the philosophical poem that he gained the title of a great poet (*Ṛṣi*).

i

3. Dīrghatamas sits in front of the fire in the altar and starts his poem with a reference to that Agni (Fire). He speaks of three fires, three brothers. I am not sure of the three fires. It may be the fires in the heavenly region, in the atmospheric region and in the earthly region. He refers to the Fire to which he points out with his finger as "This" (*Asya*). It must be the reference to that Fire as representing the heavenly fire; it is called the invoker, a term usually applied to the fire in the altar. The second of the three brothers is specifically mentioned as the middle one (*Madhyama*). That is what eats (*Aśna*), that is, the fire in the waters which is supposed to eat up the whole world at the end, and the middle region, the atmospheric region, is pictured as water. There is the third brother which has ghee at its back (*Ghṛta-pṛṣṭha*), an epithet that is specially applicable to the fire which is kindled on the earth and in which the offerings to the gods are made. Since the second and the third brothers are definite, I take the first as the light in the heavenly region; the only difficulty is that it is spoken of as the invoker (*Hotar*) a term that applies more appropriately to the fire in the altar. I take it as a reference to the fire in front representing the heavenly fire on the earth.

4. What is important in the context is that Dīrghatamas saw in that place the lord of the people, who has seven sons. This lord of the people must be identical with the lord of the people whom Dīrghatamas himself mentions later in this poem when he speaks of the tree on which two birds took their abode. In the description of a tree in connection with Yama, there is also the reference to the father who is the lord of the people. Śunaḥśepa too mentions a father, along with a

mother, whom he desires to meet. Here the father who must be the lord of the people has seven sons. I feel that this lord of the people must be wisdom and that the seven sons must be the seven poets who are selected to judge the worth of the newly composed poem for the award of the title of *Ṛṣi* or poet, mentioned by Bṛhaspati. They are also the seven Ṛṣis mentioned in many places in the *Ṛgveda*, with other alternative names as the seven *Hotars* (invoker) and seven *Vipras* (also poets). Śunaḥśepa's prayer and Dīrghatamas's declaration about the father whom they saw mean the same thing. One, being a devotee surrendering himself to the gods, puts it as a prayer, and the other, being more a philosopher of the assertive type, makes a declaration. The wisdom abides in the seven poets so selected, and so it is supposed to have the seven sons.

5. There is an element of mysticism here. He was sitting in front of the physical fire and then in that fire he was able to see the heavenly light. And in that heavenly Fire, he was able to vision the wisdom, the lord of the people. Of the three fires, it is in the first with which he started that he saw the light of heaven, the wisdom. There is the word "here" and this refers to what is stated in the beginning, "of this lovable, aged invoker". It may be that he was seeing the three fires placed before him. In the three physical fires he was able to see the universal illumination distributed in the three regions. He could see something in the physical phenomenon, what ordinary people cannot see.

ii, iii

6. In the next two verses there is some symbolism which we cannot fully realise without the clue which was available in those days, but which is now lost to us. There is a chariot with one wheel; seven people yoke that chariot and there is only one horse bearing seven names to draw it. The

wheel has three navels; it does not get aged and is free from destruction, *i.e.*, is never overcome. Usually the wheel has only one navel where the nail is put. There are seven persons occupying this chariot. Here it is also said that there are seven wheels and that there are seven horses drawing it. There are seven sisters singing songs, facing it. The whole of the evolved world remains within the wheel with the three holes and the seven names of the cows are placed hidden in this chariot.

7. The two verses must relate to two distinct facts which he alone has clearly seen and which we in this far off age cannot understand. The one wheel in the chariot drawn by a single horse bearing the seven names, or the chariot with the single wheel and the single horse, is the place where the created world remains. I think that he is thinking of the Time as a chariot with the Sun as the wheel. The seven who yoke the chariot and the seven sisters who sing must be the same. They must be poetry. Poetry yokes the chariot of the gods and the number seven is associated in various ways with poetry.

8. The seven who occupy the chariot may be the seven poets and the seven horses may be the sevenfold wisdom occupying the seven poets. In the glorification of wisdom by Bṛhaspati, it is said that there is some lustre kept concealed in language and that it has entered the seven poets. The chariot must be the absolute Truth and it rolls on seven wheels. I do not know what the seven wheels represent. The seven sisters are poetry, language. It is said that the seven names of the cows are kept concealed in it. We do not know in what they are concealed. It may be in the chariot; it may be in the song. Vasiṣṭha says that Varuṇa had given him instruction about the three times seven names of the cow, *Aghnyā* (what shall not be killed). The prohibition of killing does not seem to be on moral grounds; it is a synonym for

immortal, *Amṛta*. That is the mysterious part of the universe of which only wise people, the poets, can have a vision. There are many places where the word occurs, and in all the places there is the sense of what is incapable of being destroyed. Later in this poem, Dīrghatamas himself uses the word *Aghnyā* in the sense of a cow. The word *Nāma* also does not mean merely " name ". Here in this context the word *Gau* (cow) means language. Bṛhaspati speaks about those who hold the name, when he glorifies wisdom, in the opening verse. The mystery of language, the names of the cows, is concealed in that absolute truth. It may also be in the songs of the seven sisters. I feel that it is in the songs of the sisters. This is in accord with the opening verse in the poem of Bṛhaspati glorifying wisdom; here the name is spoken of as the beginning or top of language.

iv

9. This wheel and the horses, those who yoke the chariot, those who occupy the chariot, those who sing and the names are all features of the mysterious universe. But there is a world that is experienced by man. There are various terms by which the two are distinguished in the *Ṛgveda*. There are the pairs, *Sthātuś caratham, jagatas tasthuṣas* and *amṛtam martyam*. They all distinguish between the unmoving, basic universe and the moving experienced world. Here Dīrghatamas introduces another pair, what has bones and what does not have bones, *Asthanvat* and *Anasthā*. The created world, which it is that is pictured as having bones, is supported on the basic universe which has no bones. Dīrghatamas asks in the fourth verse: Who has seen the created world when it was being created? When the earth is to become a corporate body, there must be life, blood and breath. Whence did they come? If there is any one who has seen this transformation then, who is it that can go to such a person and ask him about it? Dīrghatamas is

here referring to the relation between the mysterious, basic universe and the evolved, experienced world. Real wisdom consists in knowing this, and this knowledge means a knowledge of the basic, mysterious universe through a vision. The language of the poet deals with this hidden universe. If one can understand the language of the poet, then he can also understand the mystery of the universe. Although it is in the form of questions, the meaning of the verse is in the form of an affirmation. What Dīrghatamas might have had in mind is that it is the poets who know the mystery and that it is he who went to ask them about this mystery. It has to be interpreted in this way: Do you ask me who it is that has known this mystery and who it is that went and asked those who know, about that mystery? Then this is my answer. And the answer is given in the fifth verse.

V

10. I am the man who asks this question. The question has relation to the positions of the gods that are concealed. I am limited in my knowledge. I do not know the mystery with my own mind. What has been the result? Those who know, the poets, have spread the seven threads and they asked me to weave them into a cloth. There is no difference between the names of the cows and the positions of the gods. We find reference to both being concealed. There is a reference to the weaving of the cloth in the poem of Bṛhaspati where there is the glorification of wisdom; there it is given as the labour of the common man, distinct from the functions of a poet, a man of wisdom. Here also there is an indication of some such distinction between a wise man and a common man. They give me something which I cannot handle. I know only the common man's labour and not the work of a wise man, of a poet. I am just a boy. The seven threads given by the poets for Dīrghatamas to weave must be the poetry

where the mystery surrounding the universe is presented. In the previous verse there was the symbolism of sisters singing in chorus on ceremonial occasions, and here there is the symbolism of [a common man weaving the yarn into a cloth.

vi

11. In the sixth verse, Dīrghatamas makes the point clear that it is the poets and himself who are indicated in the previous one. Dīrghatamas did not know, and yet he had a desire to know; so he asked the poets who had known, so that he too might know. The question which he put to the poets is: " What then is that one in the form of the unborn who held apart and fixed these six regions? " The world is thought of in various ways. There are three regions of heaven (*Dyaus*), atmosphere (*Antarikṣa*) and earth (*Pṛthivī*). Each of them is thought of as three. There are places where the heaven and the earth form a pair. There are places where there is a reference to the six regions. The fixing of the six regions is the same as the transformation of what had no bones into what has bones. He who fixed up the six regions has himself no birth, no beginning. In his form there must be that " One ". What is that one? He wanted to know that " One " from which the many arose. In himself there is only " One "; then when there is the transformation, there is the manifolding. What Dīrghatamas wanted to know was that " One ", the source of this manifolded world, that " One " that has no source, that has no beginning, that has no birth. He has mentioned many things that are seven in number. That is when the poets have stated that Truth in language form. But there must be some ultimate unity and it is that unity which Dīrghatamas did not know, but wanted to know; and about that he asked the poets.

vii

12. Dīrghatamas continues the question. If there is some one who knows the truth, let him tell me, what the position of "this beloved bird is which is concealed." The two words "this beloved" occurred in the first verse, and perhaps in both the places they refer to the same thing. In the first verse it had reference to the Agni, Fire, placed in front which represents the light of heaven. Dīrghatamas saw the father of the seven, the lord of the people, in that illumination of heaven. That indicates that ordinary people cannot see that illumination since that was concealed. Here also the position of the bird is concealed from the ordinary view. That is also the highest truth represented by the chariot with a single wheel and drawn by a single horse with seven names.

13. The cows draw milk from his head. The cows drink water with their feet, and they also wear a garment. I think that the imagery is that of cows drinking water from an artificial storage tank built for cows to drink water. Truth is above and the growth of the world is towards the bottom. Here the cows are the language. They draw the essence of the truth from below; truth is pictured as having its head downwards. The cows too have their head below and the feet above. The cows also wear a garment. This must be the language form. The imagery has relation to the first expression of the truth through language form. The main element is the milk drawn *i.e.*, truth, and the language form is the garment which they wear. In the poem of Bṛhaspati glorifying wisdom, language is spoken of as revealing her charms like a wife wearing fine robes. There is some relation between the two. The final meaning is that Dīrghtamas wanted to know from those who knew, what the absolute source of the truth is which is contained in the poetry of the wise people who had realised the truth.

14. There is a unity of idea among the four verses beginning with the fourth which mentions the first assumption of a form by the formless absolute universe, the change of the boneless into what has bones; Dīrghatamas had been trying to know the truth from others. It does not mean that at the time when he was reciting this verse, he had been making this enquiry to the wise persons who had assembled there. On that occasion, he was only saying what in an earlier stage he had been trying to do to get at the wisdom. What is found often in the *upaniṣads* must have been a custom current in the *Ṛgvedic* times, for a seeker after truth to go to a wise man and to accept him as the teacher and to ask him for the instruction about the absolute truth. In the four verses he states how he had approached the wise people for securing the knowledge.

viii

15. Mother shared the Law with the father. In the beginning she united herself with him, along with her thought and with her mind. When she was struck, she was a little timid, and yet she was full of the happiness of becoming pregnant. Those who bear adorations went to them to address them close by. The father must be the wisdom and the mother must be the language. Language shared the *Ṛta*, the Law, along with wisdom, as a father and a mother do in the case of their property. That means that wisdom and language were united to each other as father and mother after a wedding. *Ṛta* is literally the evolved, moving world, and from this the Law of the evolved world became *Ṛta*. Here what I feel is that the wisdom of the truth and the language in the absolute state came together into this evolved world as a father and a mother do to their home to share it. The mother has union with the father with her thoughts and with her mind. Both the words *Dhītī* and *Manas* mean more or less the same in the Vedic language. There are words

like *Manas* and *Manman* meaning pious thoughts expressed in poetic language. Here the language went to the wisdom and got united with it, with the thoughts and with the mind of the poets; that means that language was in the form of poetry. In the first state of married life, the wife would be a little timid and yet she would be enjoying the life when she becomes pregnant. After this, poets bearing adorations in the form of poetry went near him so that they could sing about his newly composed poem at close quarters.

16. Here the words of Śunaḥśepa may be taken note of. He wanted to see the father and the mother. It is wisdom and poetry. It is the same father and mother that are meant here also by Dīrghatamas. In this context the reference is not to the heaven and the earth as father and mother. The word *Rasa* in the text should be taken to mean enjoyment and not juice. It relates to the mental state. She was enjoying the occasion when she became pregnant.

17. It is likely that in this verse Dīrghatamas is trying to express the change that was taking place in him when he was able to approach a teacher for wisdom and when he was able to have the instruction from the teacher about the mystery of the world. He had his thoughts and his mind. His language was united with wisdom and his language took up a beautiful form, being pregnant with the meaning associated with wisdom. In the last line of the verse there is a reference to poets going to a house where a new boy is born, to sing about him and to greet him. In the context I am not sure of the people who went there to sing nearby. I think that poets went to Dīrghtamas to sing in praise of him when he himself became a poet, to congratulate him on the production of his poetry, as people do in the case of new-born sons. The word *Nividdhā* (being struck) is used with reference to the mother, and then it is said that she was a little timid. Apart from the natural timidity of the newly married

wife on the occasion of the first union, there is also the surprise at the change from ordinary language to poetic language. We note it in Vālmiki when for the first time poetry flew from him. The "striking" is the union. Sāyaṇa reads the sense of a union of the newly married couple in this verse and I think that he is quite right. The reference to poets approaching him with congratulations on the birth of his poetry may be considered in the light of the statement in the poem of Bṛhaspati that the seven poets adore the new entrant to the group of poets.

ix

18. The mother became tied up to the yoke on the right side. The womb remained within the water-cloud. The calf lowed and looked towards the cow, having all forms, within the three expanses of the space. The idea is a continuation of the previous verse. But there is a change in the imagery. In the previous verse there was pictured the union of the father and the mother and the birth of the son and the congratulations of the neighbours, of the friends and of the companions on the birth of the son. Here there is reference to the cow, and so the baby (*Vatsa*) must be taken to mean the calf that is born. Here it must be again the poetry born of the union of language with wisdom that is meant by the word calf. The recitation of poetry is compared to the lowing of the calf. This sound was heard in the three expanses of the universe, *i.e.*, in the earthly, in the atmospheric and in the celestial regions. *Viśvarūpyam* (having all forms) must have reference to the language which, though uniform in origin, takes up various forms when it becomes poetry relating to the various objects in the three worlds. I feel that there is the idea of the wisdom (father) and language (mother) being tied together to the yoke like horses yoked to a chariot. I do not know if cows were used as draught animals in those days.

19. The womb is what is in the womb through the union of the father and the mother, and that is poetry. Now, I think that there is the imagery of the thunder within the water-clouds. This womb is remaining within the water-clouds. This poetry lows like a calf, like the thunder, and is heard within the three expanses of the universe. This poetry has looked towards language. Perhaps the idea is that the poets' language is not cut off from the absolute language, and that even when it became poetry about the various objects in the world, it was looking towards the mother language. The poetic language also filled the three worlds like the language in its absolute state. It may as well be the passive usage of an active form, and what is meant is that the calf was seen, that is, appeared to be, an imitation of the mother cow, the original basic language in its absolute state. *Anu apaśyat* means, in this case, "was seen to follow". This gives a better sense.

20. The imagery of the father and the mother in the case of wisdom and language had started from the Vedic times and continued even in later times. Thus Kālidāsa pictures meaning (wisdom) and language as father and mother for the creation of the poets' world like the God and the Goddess who are the parents of the world. The imagery may have changed; but the central idea is the same.

X

21. Dīrghatamas continues the imagery of the father and the mother and speaks of One standing erect and supporting three fathers and three mothers without letting them fall down. On the back of that heaven there are some who sing in a low voice, songs that comprehend the whole world, but do not shake it. The One must be the truth. I do not know why wisdom and language have now been spoken of as three-fold. The division must be, perhaps, on the basis

of the three regions mentioned in the previous verse. Wisdom and poetic language remain firm supported by the One, and they do not fall down. Those who sing in a low tone in this context must be the same as those mentioned in the eighth verse, who came bearing adorations.

22. It may also be that the three fathers and the three mothers stand for the division of language, and along with it the division of the meaning also, as stated by Dīrghatamas himself presently in a later verse; there he says that if language is divided into four parts, three parts will remain in the cave, known only to the poets with imagination. They remain supported in the One truth, without being spoken by the common people, relating to the things of the evolved world. In this case it must be the three fathers and the three mothers who sing in a low tone, the song which comprehends the entire universe and which does not move in the world. Their songs are in a low tone on the back of the heaven, not heard by ordinary people.

23. In three verses there was a question by Dīrghatamas about the relation of the evolved world to the basic, ultimate truth. In the next three verses there is more or less the reply to those questions. In these six verses Dīrghatamas must be relating the way in which he had the doubt and in which he had his instruction from those who knew and to whom he had put his questions. There is the wisdom and the language that have an application only to the absolute truth; from that language and wisdom there arose the poetry known in this world. But the real language and the real wisdom remain firm in the One Truth.

24. Dīrghatamas was sitting before the Agni (fire) and he was always addressing that Agni. Again he starts with an address to that Agni in which he says something about the nature of the universe. In the second verse there was a reference to the chariot with a single wheel, drawn by a single

horse. That has reference to the Time with the disc of the sun as the wheel. He continues that symbolism and speaks about the division of the time as a year and days, in the next verse (the eleventh).

xi

25. There is the wheel with twelve spokes. It is a wheel that rolls on according to the Law. However long it may roll, it never gets decayed as do the wheels of the chariot in this world. The twelve spokes must represent the twelve months into which the year is divided. The disc of the sun going round is the wheel and it is this wheel that has the twelve spokes. There are the sons and the daughters, in pairs, seven hundred and twenty in number. A day and a night form a pair. They remain on the wheel. So far as the wheel is concerned, its relation to the wheel in the second verse is quite plain. Here there are also the children, sons and daughters in pairs. There can be no relation for these children to the parents mentioned in the previous few verses. These divisions of the year into days are very small and they are compared to children standing round the father, and also supported on the father.

xii

26. After referring to a wheel of twelve spokes, the poet now refers to the father, who must be the father of the children in pairs stated in the previous verse. The father has five feet. It has twelve forms. They say that this father remains in the other half of the heaven. It is full of *Purīṣa*, water. This must be a reference to the movement of the sun in the atmospheric region. That is the region where there is water. There are others who speak of him in another way. He is one who views far wide. He is placed in what has seven wheels and five spokes. That must be the imagery of a

chariot. In the third verse the chariot was spoken of as having seven wheels and this must be the same chariot. I do not know what the five feet are. In the next verse the wheel is shown to have five spokes. The twelve forms in this verse and the twelve spokes in the previous verse too cannot be kept separate; they must have some close relation. Like seven, the number five too is rather prominent in the symbolism of the *Ṛgveda.* There are two places where the worship is spoken of as having five movements (*Yāma*), rolling in three ways or having three rolling wheels (*Trivṛt*) and having seven threads (*Saptatantu*). The horses are spoken of as being yoked in six ways (*Ṣoḷhā yuktāḥ*), standing five and five (*Pañca-pañca*). Soma and Pūṣan have a chariot having five reins or rays (*Pañca-raśmi*). There is a reference to five invokers (*Pañcahotar*).

27. Here the father has five feet. Sāyaṇa says that this refers to the five seasons, the two cold seasons known as *Hemanta* and *Śiśira*, being taken as a single unit. This father has two aspects. In one view he is the sun passing through the atmospheric region where there are the waters. He is also the sun placed higher. The six spokes here are, according to Sāyaṇa, the six seasons. This must be right. But I am not sure of the five feet. It is a symbolism familiar in the *Ṛgveda*, found in other places too. But its real value is not known. In the context I feel that the reference is to the five points in space. There is a reference to the five directions that are clearly seen, along with the six directions which Indra fixed. There is also a reference to five invokers. There is further, a reference to the five steps of a ladder (*Rupaḥ*). The word "five" occurs in many places. The number is in modern times taken to refer to the five people, and in all such cases the five people have also been fixed. Like the seven Ṛṣis (poets) my impression is that they are five persons who take part in a ritual of worship. But none of them has a relevancy in the

context; what may have some relation to the context is the division of space into five points or directions. I am not able to say what the "seven wheels" in this context, which is the same as in the third verse, stands for.

xiii

28. There is again the reference to the wheel with the five spokes. When that wheel rolls on, all the created world remains in that. I think that the five feet and the five spokes refer to the same. It has already been said that however long it may roll, it does not decay; here that idea is again repeated. When wheels roll on, the axle gets heated and in the end it gets damaged. This wheel does not get heated, whatever be the load that it has to bear. The axle of that wheel does not also break down into pieces along with the navel, the hole in which the nail is fixed. This is a continuation of the picture of a chariot. The same symbolism continues. The movement of the sun and the time and the space: all come together in comparing it with the movement of a chariot.

xiv

29. The wheel with its felly rolls on, and it never gets decayed. Ten horses yoked to it draw it along the region that is projected upward. The disc of the sun, which is like an eye to Sūrya, the sun at the midday, is covered up in the space. In that wheel are placed the entire created world. There are frequent references to the number ten also. It is the seven horses that draw the chariot of the sun. But the reference to ten is also found in the *Ṛgveda*. It is sometimes spoken of as twice five. Since the entire world is placed in both, in the previous and in the present verse, both must be referring to the same fact. Sūrya's disc is spoken of as the eye of Mitra, Varuṇa and Agni in another place. The sun

is often spoken of as viewing the world and the word eye may be used as a comparison; it is like the eye of the sun. When the sun is taken to be of wider pervasion than its disc, then the disc appears to be his eye.

XV

30. At this stage, there is a change in the symbolism. The symbolism of chariot has ended with the previous verse and we get some new thought. There are many born together. Of them the seventh is born as One. The other six are poets born of the gods, in pairs. Whatever is desired by them are fixed in their respective places. They shine in different ways according to their forms. There is some parallel to this idea in the poem of Bṛhaspati describing the evolution of the world. Here it is said that Aditi had eight sons and that she took seven of them to the gods. The eighth, Mārtāṇḍa, remained to fix the course of the world with births and deaths. In the present context there are seven born and the six are in pairs and one remains firm. The symbolism is very obscure.

XVI

31. In the next verse there is a new topic. A distinction is drawn between those with eyes and those who are blind; the verse must be a glorification of wisdom. They are really women, but they say that they are men. One with eyes can see; the blind does not understand anything. If the son is a poet, he can understand this. If he knows them, then he is the father of the father. There is something said about some people who are spoken of as what they really are not. Those who are really women are spoken of as men. It is not that women are ignorant and that they are spoken of as men who know things. One cannot miss a contrast drawn between a man and a woman as absolutely different from

each other. But the contrast cannot be in regard to their understanding. In the vedic age it is impossible that a poet should condemn the whole of the women-folk as ignorant and praise men as being the only wise people. We see it in the *Gītā*; but that is impossible in the Vedas. It is the contrast in nature that is mentioned here. To say that ignorant persons are wise is as absurd as to say that women are men; and yet that is what people say. They speak of even ignorant persons as wise. It is only a man with eyes that can see, and the blind man cannot understand. There is as much difference between them as between women and men. A man may not understand; but if his son is a poet, that son understands things all round. Really that wise son should be called, not as his son, but as his father. In this there is a hint about wisdom being known as father.

32. I feel that Dīrghatamas is hinting at his own change. Perhaps people might have been saying about him even prior to his illumination that he was a great man, knowing everything. But what they had been saying was only as true as the statement that one who is a woman is really a man. Then he did not have eyes and he could not see anything. Now in his changed condition, he has eyes and he has begun to see things.

Perhaps he was called a very wise man because of his father. But a son can know only if he himself becomes a poet. Now the position has to be reversed; the father may be called wise because of the son. I feel a little diffident to read this meaning into the verse, especially the last line. I cannot believe that Dīrghatamas could be so conceited as to say that at that time he must be considered the really great man and that his father's greatness could be only on account of the greatness of his son, *i.e.*, himself. Perhaps it is only a general statement. People called him wise because of his father. But a son understands only if the son becomes a poet himself, and when the son becomes a poet, it is legitimate to say that the father is a great man to have such a son.

xvii

33. Dīrghatamas has become quite confident of his position as a poet, at this stage. He does not want any glory for being the son of his father. Wisdom should not be judged on the basis of posteriority or priority in birth, or of other similar considerations. The cow has stood up, holding above what was below and keeping below what was above. The cow is the language and that language has changed the gradation between the two. Till the time when the son became a poet, the father was above and the son was below; but now the poetry has made the son above and the father has to remain below. The calf is the poet. The imagery of mother-cow and calf has been found in an earlier verse also. The mother-cow is spoken of here as holding the calf with her legs. This is not what we find in our experience, the way in which the cow stands up holding the calf. I think that both here and in the former place, the word leg or foot is used in a secondary sense; the poetry (mother) holds up the poet (the son) through *Pada* (words); the word *Pada* has also the meaning of leg or foot. Although there is the relation of mother and son in the case of poetry and the poet, like the relation of the cow and the calf, still the mother holds up the child as a woman does in the case of the son. It is the double meaning of the word *Pada* that necessitated this use.

34. In this way, the mother holding up the calf with the legs, whither is that mother proceeding? To what half is she going away? Here the element " half " may refer to the father, the wisdom. What is the nature of the wisdom which he was obtaining? Where is the cow delivering the calf? I do not think that it is the actual birth of the calf that is meant in this context. The cow is to set the calf free to wander about,

and perhaps this is what is meant here. It cannot be among the herd. The poet shall not be left among the same old group of people. The poet must have a special position. He should not be treated just as the son of his father.

xviii

35. The same idea is carried on in two more verses. If a man recognises the father as below with reference to his son who has become greater through his position as a recognised poet, and if he recognises the son as above with reference to the father who has become lesser, who here has given this explanation behaving like a poet? Here the reference may be to the son who considers himself as having become superior to the father. He has given this explanation of the new position since he is thus behaving like a poet. It requires a divine mind for this, and whence has he acquired this divine mind? This is a question; the meaning is, "If such a question is put, then the reply is given in the following verse."

xix

36. When a man becomes a poet and if he is the son, born later than his father who was born earlier, then in the altered relationship, the son born later will have to be called the elder and the father who was born earlier has to be called the junior. People began to talk like that. This is not what any particular person has done, and no person need be credited with having developed a divine mind for talking like this. This is what Indra and Soma have done together. Here again Dīrghatamas is looking at the Soma that is ready at the altar for being offered to Indra; and the passage is addressed to Soma. The people are simply carrying the decisions of Soma along with Indra, as the horses carry the chariot when they are yoked to the poles of the chariot, space in the world being the chariot. They carry the space with them like

horses carrying a chariot, and the chariot in the present context is laden with the ordinances of Soma and Indra.

37. It is the ordinance of the gods that those who have wisdom and who have been accepted as poets, should be recognised as holding a superior position and rank among the people over-riding other considerations like age. This shows what a high esteem Dīrghatamas had for wisdom; what he says is what the people had recognised in those days. In the four verses, Dīrghatamas draws a distinction between those who have wisdom, those who have eyes to see, and those who do not know, who are blind. To him real sight is the sight of a poet and real seniority is the seniority of wisdom. Now he continues the distinction between the wise people and the common people.

XX

38. The wise man and the ordinary man are like two birds resorting to a common tree, united in companionship. One of them, the wise man, can eat the sweet berries, while the other eats nothing but simply looks on to the empty space. This verse occurs in the *Atharvaveda*, since the poem itself, with slight modifications, is incorporated in it; it also occurs in the *Muṇḍakopaniṣad*. We do not know with what purpose the verse is introduced in that *Upaniṣad*; we have to depend on the authority of the commentators, and the commentators give their own interpretation. According to them the two birds are the embodied souls who enjoy the fruits of their actions, full of sufferings, and the Supreme who does not have any such experience. The context does not warrant the distinction between the individual self and the Supreme in this poem. The context is that of the distinction between the man who knows and the man who does not know. The tree is the world. There is such a reference to the tree in the poem about Yama by the aspirant prince (Kumāra)

and also in the poem of Śunaḥśepa. It is also in the *Kaṭhopaniṣad* and in the *Bhagavad Gītā*. One who knows enjoys the sweetness of wisdom; the other simply stares on and has no such enjoyment.

xxi

39. The birds sing forth about the share of immortality, without a wink, ceaselessly, in the assembly of the learned people (*Vidatha*). It is in such an assembly that the lord of the entire universe, the wise one, the protector of the created world, entered Dīrghatamas, the unripe. There can be no doubt that the birds here are the birds that eat the berry in the tree. Wisdom has been spoken of as the lord of the entire universe in other places also.

xxii

40. On the tree all the birds who drink the honey take rest and they get inspired. It is on the top of this tree that there is the sweet berry; so they say. One who does not know the father cannot get at the berries. Here also the birds that drink the honey are the birds that eat the berry of the tree, mentioned in the verse before the previous one. The father is the wisdom. All the three verses form a unity. Here also there is a reference to the distinction between the wise man and the common man who does not know. The emphasis is on the enjoyment in the case of the wise man as distinct from the common man who cannot reach up to the top of the tree where the fruits are, and who has simply to stare on. In the unit of four verses preceding this unit of three verses, the emphasis was on the rank and seniority.

xxiii

41. Now Dīrghatamas starts on the high position which the man who has won wisdom attains. He becomes immortal. One should know how to place a *Gāyatrī* song in the *Gāyatrī*

metre, a *Triṣṭubh* song in the *Triṣṭubh* metre or a *Jagatī* song (*pada*) in a *Jagatī* metre. If a man knows this, then he attains immortality. It is poetry that makes a man immortal. Poetry has different metres and each metre has its appropriate value in the songs. One should know what metre is to be resorted to for particular songs ; then he knows what poetry is and it is such a poet alone who can be immortal. He has seen the eternal truth.

42. There are three metres given here and three kinds of songs. We have the terms designating different metres. But the metres that are at present designated by these terms and the metres which the poets of the *Ṛgveda* had in their mind do not seem to be the same. Many of the terms relating to metres occur in the *Ṛgveda.* Here the poet has given three metres which have an eight-syllable, an eleven-syllable and a twelve-syllable scheme. *Gāyatrī* has three lines of eight syllables; *Triṣṭubh* has four lines of eleven syllables and *Jagatī* has also four lines, but of twelve syllables. I do not know if this is the distinction that is kept in mind. According to later traditions also, these are the three basic schemes of metre in the Veda. There are others also among the metres of the *Ṛgveda.* My feeling is that the poet means the three basic schemes of eight and eleven and twelve syllables in the *Ṛgvedic* poetry. There are various combinations of these lines ; sometimes the same lines appear alone, in different numbers as three, four and five; sometimes they appear in combination with others. One should know the proper occasion for the different metres. Then he becomes the real poet, and the real poet becomes immortal also. Wisdom is not a mere intellectual equipment; wisdom lies in the combination of art with the intellectual equipment about the nature of the reality. He must be able to express the truth in poetic language; that is the only true wisdom and that is the only way to attain immortality.

43. The later texts, those of the *Upaniṣads*, mention that one who knows *Brahman*, the supreme reality, becomes *Brahman* and that one oneself is the *Brahman*. The texts on the systems of philosophy speak about *Kaivalya*, isolation or the cessation of suffering, *Niśśreyasa* (the highest glory), *Svarga* (heaven) and *Mokṣa* (release). The conviction that such high goals cannot be obtained in this life and in association with a body, had become rather firm with the thinkers of the later periods. But this is the Vedic philosophy which Dīrghatamas represents, where to be a poet is the highest goal; that is immortality. The highest ambition of a citizen at that time was to be allowed to sit before the altar and to recite a poem; this is what entitles him to be recognised as a poet.

xxiv

44. Dīrghatamas continues the description of the metres and their application. With the *Gāyatra*, one has to measure the adorations one by one. One has similarly to measure the songs one by one. This song has to be measured with poetry in *Triṣṭubh*. The song has again to be measured with the song, which may be of two quarters or four quarters. The seven poems must be measured with syllables. Here we do not find the *Jagatī* metre which was one of the three mentioned in the previous verse and we find a new term *Vāka*. The word already occurred in a previous verse. In the previous verse three kinds of metres and three kinds of poems were mentioned. Here we find a new set of poems, *Arka*, *Sāma* and *Vāka*. In the previous verse it was stated that *Gāyatra* poem must be placed on the *Gāyatrī* metre; here it is said that an *Arka* song must be measured with a *Gāyatra* song. This *Arka* is the standard for the measurement of a *Sāman* and a poem in *Triṣṭubh* metre must be the measuring standard for a *Vāka*. Similarly a *Vāka* must be measured with the standard of another *Vāka*, with two quarters or four

quarters. There are seven kinds of poems and they are to be measured with syllables (*Akṣara*). The seven songs (*Vāṇī*) may be related to the seven who occupy the chariot mentioned in the second verse or the seven sisters mentioned in the same place. The combination "the seven songs" is a very familiar one in the *Ṛgveda*. The exact significance of the term *Vāka* also must be known. In the absence of the knowledge of the exact meaning of the various kinds of poems, it is not possible for us now to understand the full meaning of the verse. It has something to do with the mutual relation of metres and the various kinds of songs and poems in the Vedic literature. Ordinary people can use any metre for any kind of poetry; but it is only a true poet who can know what metre will suit the particular kind of poetry.

XXV

45. There is again a continuation of the description of the metres and their functions and applications. One can fix the river in the heaven with the *Jagatī* song. One can have a full, all-round view of the sun with the *Rathantara* song. They say that there are three kinds of fuels to kindle a *Gāyatrī* song. With its greatness, with its superiority, it excels all others. The river is the waters in the atmospheric region; *Divi* need not always mean heaven; it can signify the higher region. The three terms *Pṛthivī*, *Rajas* or *Antarikṣa* and *Div*, may mean distinct regions or regions in space in general. The *Jagatī* metre has special relation to the atmospheric region with its waters. *Sūrya* or sun is in the celestial region and the *Rathantara* song is specially related to this region with the sun in it. I think that what is meant is that the *Gāyatrī* metre is related to the three worlds and is not confined to any region, and that for this reason, it has a greatness of its own, far excelling the other two. Here there are three kinds of songs. We find *Gāyatrī* and *Jagatī*, among the three mentioned in the

first of the group of three verses where there is the description of metres. *Triṣṭubh* is replaced here by the *Rathantara* song. *Rathantara* is a special name given to a kind of *Sāman* and in the previous verse there was a reference to *Sāman*. I think that the two words *Mahnā* and *Mahitvā* must be taken as two co-ordinate nouns and not as an adjective and a noun, one qualifying the other. Such combinations are not unusual in the Veda. Here there is no doubt that the whole verse glorifies the *Gāyatrī* as superior to the others, being applicable to the three worlds, the others having special relation only to one of the three worlds.

xxvi

46. Now, there is a complete change in the topic. Here we have the picture of poetry as a cow. Dīrghatamas calls the poetry which he has been able to compose when he became a recognised poet, as a cow being called for being milked in the houses. The beauty of poetry is easy to be drawn out, just like the milk from a milch-cow that yields plenty of milk. And a poet can draw out the beauty from the poetry just as a man with a dexterous hand, experienced in milking cows can draw the milk from such a cow. Dīrghatamas knows that the poetic inspiration has come to him from the sun, whom he mentioned even in the beginning of the poem and whom he refers to in the course of the poem as a chariot-wheel. So in this context he again invokes the aid of the sun for inspiration in composing poetry, so that he can compose the best of poetry. When the milk is drawn, the milk must be boiled before it can be used by man, and for boiling it there must be the oven kindled. He says that in composing the poem also, there must be the further process of boiling it for which there must be an oven kindled. Perhaps he means the recitation of the poem before the learned assembly, when he speaks of boiling the milk, and perhaps the assembly

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itself is the oven. The assembly is ready with fire in it. The beauty of the poem is to be determined by the intellect of the learned people and that is compared to a fire. Kālidāsa speaks of the mind of the critics as the fire in which there should be a test whether the poetry is pure like gold or whether it is mixed with any base metal. The idea of the critics being the fire is Vedic. Thus, he is singing his poetry before the assembly so that they could judge it properly and make it fit for people to accept and sing as good poetry. The imagery of calling a cow that can be milked continues in the (three) following verses also.

xxvii

47. When Dīrghatamas sings his song, it is compared to the bellowing of a cow that approaches the house for being milked. The cow yields plenty of milk and in the same way, his poetry is also the mistress of wealth in respect of all the wealth concerned. In the text there is a Vedic usage in which the word is repeated. It is said that one is the lord of cows in respect of all the cows concerned (*gavām gopatiḥ*). It simply means that one is the lord of (all) the cows. The calf would have been tied up the previous evening and the cow knows that she can see the calf only after the milking, and so the cow is eager to have the milking so that she can meet the calf after that. Such an eagerness is in the mind of the cow. This must be compared with the imagery of the cow and the calf, and of the father and the mother in some of the earlier verses. Here, Dīrghatamas brings in the Aśvins who too are adored with songs at the rituals. Just as the milk drawn from the cow is used for making offerings to the gods, Dīrghatamas asks the Aśvins to see that the cow, his poetry, which is *Aghnyā*, what is incapable of being destroyed, yields the milk which can be offered to the Aśvins. He wants the Aśvins also to see that his poetry, like a cow

may prosper, yield more and more milk, so that there would be greater happiness. He desires to compose a poem which would be acceptable for the Aśvins and he wants his poetical abilities to increase also so that he could compose more poems in future.

xxviii

48. The cow was bellowing, facing the calf that was keeping the eyes open. Here the imagery is that of the calf looking at the cow with open eyes waiting for the time when it could go to the mother after the milking is finished, as indicated in the previous verse; the mother-cow bellows as a sign for the calf to go to her. The calf goes near to the mother and the mother begins to lick the face of the calf, which is like measuring it. The cow is also keeping on making the bellowing sound all the time. This continuing sound is a sort of invitation for the mouth of the calf which the mother cow licked, to go to the hot udder, that is, the udder with hot milk in it. She is still making the bellowing sound as the calf is drinking, and the cow is letting the calf to drink.

49. Dīrghatamas was composing poetry and he was reciting it before the learned assembly. There was already the imagery of the father and the mother, of the cow and the calf and so on. He takes up that picture and compares the flow of his poetry to the flow of milk from the cow when one milks it and when, later, the calf also has its drink.

xxix

50. The calf moving all around the cow, makes a bellowing sound. The mother-cow, standing on the top of the height, also makes the bellowing sound. I am not sure what this height may be, in the picture of milking the cow. The meaning of the word itself is not quite certain. It must be height, what rises up. I do not know if there is a platform

on which the cows stand when they are being milked. Perhaps the imagery itself has changed in this verse. It may be a reference to the cloud and the thunder and the lightning ; the idea of the lightning is quite clear and is expressly stated in the second half of the verse. In this case, what encompasses the cow must be the cloud, and the cow too, standing on the heights where the clouds are, makes a sound. But in the case of the thunder there are no two separate objects to make the sound. There is a reference to something which is within the cloud; that is why it is supposed to be encompassed by the cloud, and that cloud is making the noise. That something standing within the cloud is also occupying the high region. Perhaps the reference is to the waters. The thunder must be taken to be the sound of the cloud and also of the water within; there must be some such idea.

51. It is this something within, the water perhaps, which keeps the mortals down. There is no idea of doing any harm by this act of keeping the mortals down. The mortals remain below this, since this is far above, within the clouds in the heights. It has reference only to the relative positions. That water within the cloud, which must be the poetry, was thinking of the mortals below on the earth with the thoughts.

52. Till then that which was making the bellowing sound along with the cloud was concealed by the cloud and when that is converted into a lightning, the garment that enshrouded it is thrown off. Perhaps the idea is that poetry first arises in the mind and is making the sound of poetry within and then when it is recited it shines out like the lightning. It looks as if the garment covering it is removed and that it is thus exposed very clearly. In this way concludes the imagery of the cow and the calf and the milking and also the succeeding imagery of the thunder and the lightning. This has reference to the composition of poetry and its recitation.

XXX

53. At this stage Dīrghatamas takes up the point of immortality mentioned in a previous verse when the point of the metres and their functions and their application were taken up. The condition of the poet in contrast to the condition of the common man is indicated. In the poet there is something that is externally seen and at the same time there is something else which is the truth about him, internally. What is external is what is in him common with the ordinary man.

54. The life of the poet, that is, the poet in this normal life, remains at rest just like the ordinary man and yet there is something in him which runs very fast; this is his talent. The mind of a poet is often spoken of as rushing fast like a horse. It is always in a state of vibration and yet the man remains firm whithin his home. There is an immortal element in this life of the mortal man and that immortal spirit in the poet moves about with its own will-power, being of the same origin with what is mortal. The ordinary elements in a poet, like the ordinary men, remain within him along with the immortal element which is special in the poet. The body and other features in a poet are in common with the ordinary mortals. When he becomes immortal, it is only in a certain factor in him that there is his speciality, not found in the common man. Thus, in a poet there are two factors, the mortal and the immortal, both abiding in the same personality of the poet. There is no contrast drawn between the poet in life and the poet after death, when he is in heaven. It is a combination of the factors of a normal, ordinary man and the factors of a poet in the same man during life. This has to be read along with the prayer in the *Bṛhadāraṇyakopaniṣad* where one wants to be led from non-being to being, from darkness to light, from mortality to immortality. This is

not a migration, but only a development, an expansion in life. Here also it is the condition of immortality when there is being and when there is light, as a contrast to mortality and non-being and darkness before.

xxxi

55. In that condition, Dīrghatamas has a realisation of the protector, who does not stumble down. This protector must be the father, the lord of all, mentioned in many other places. Here the protector is more the guide, the leader; this meaning is suggested by the word " not stumbling down ". Moreover, that protector can move about hither and far away; this means that he can lead Dīrghatamas to move about both in the neighbourhood and also in the distance, everywhere in the world. This is another requisite of a proper guide. He should be able to lead another everywhere in the world and not only around his own home. That guide moves about along with him and he goes about all around. The guide is covered up as if with cloth. The guide shall not be seen too much, and yet he must keep close to one and move about in all the places. In this way, that protector rolls on within the world. The idea is that Dīrghatamas himself can at that time and in that condition, move about freely in the world, without falling down, without losing his way, always keeping the right track. No one notices his guide, who remains hidden and yet he is always with him whenever he moves about in all the places. In this way he remains within the world. This clearly shows that there is no question of a condition of the poet after death, suggested in the previous verse. I think that here there is the imagery of a cowherd protecting the cows; the word " *gopa* " is significant. *Gopa* means " one who protects (*pā*) a cow (*go*) ". The whole word has the meaning of protection and there are uses of the words from the same root as a unit, without its analysis into the two parts,

appearing even in the *Ṛgveda*. According to the tradition of the application of the *Ṛgvedic* passages at the rituals, this verse and the one before (No. 28) are employed when the calf is moved off from the cow so that the cow may yield enough milk in the morning of the following day.

xxxii

56. The one who has produced this does not know this; or as for the one who has seen this, this is hidden from him. He is like the one who remains concealed within the womb of the mother. A man who has many off-springs has entered into suffering. I feel that this has to be related to a former verse where there was a reference to the relation between the father and the son. The father is not able to know the son though he was produced by the father and the father cannot also have a view of him since he is, so to say, hidden from the father as if covered up with a cloth (*parivīta*). He is just like the child in the womb to the father; the father cannot know anything about the child in the womb, whether it is a boy or a girl, what its complexion will be, what its intellectual and moral qualities will be, and what its fortunes in life will be. A man does not become a happy one simply by being the father of many children. It is better to be a wise man than to be the father of a great son. Man only suffers by being the father of many children; happiness is only in being wise, in being a poet.

xxxiii

57. When a man becomes such a poet, the wordly relations of father and mother seem to dwindle into insignificance. He is no longer the son of his real father and his real mother. He is the son of the heaven as father and of the earth as the mother. In that state, Dīrghatamas felt that the heaven is his real father who has given birth to him;

his navel, the place to which he is tied to, is in the heaven. His only relative as a mother is this vast earth. My place of birth is within the two vessels that are placed with the mouth upwards. Here the father has produced the pregnancy of the daughter. A man must have a father and a mother and a place of birth. There is no doubt about the father in the end; it is the wisdom. In the actual collocation of the words, there is a suggestion of an instance of some incest; the father is said to have caused the pregnancy of the daughter. We have to decide who the father is and who the mother is and who the daughter is.

58. In the verse itself, the heaven is spoken of as the father and the earth as the mother. He is himself the son. His mother is the daughter in whom the father (heaven) has produced the pregnancy for his birth. Is it suggested that the earth is both the mother of Dīrghatamas and the daughter of heaven, the heaven itself remaining his father too? I do not want to say anything finally at this stage. The verse requires close examination. In the first half there are two epithets. The father is spoken of as the originator (*Janitar*) ; but the mother is spoken of as a *Bandhu*. A *Bandhu* is one closely bound to one. Why did the poet bring in these two epithets to the father and the mother? Further the heaven is also spoken of as the navel. I think that some distinction is drawn between the heaven as the father and the earth as the mother. We have to identify the father with wisdom, with light, with heaven where there is light. There was an imagery when language was spoken of as the mother. Language or sound is the daughter of the atmospheric region; there are many places where there is a reference to the sound in the atmospheric region. The sound or language is the daughter of the upper region in one capacity and the heaven is the father in another aspect of the upper region.

59. We have also to consider the question what these two vessels are having their mouths upwards, which was the place spoken of as the place of his birth. I think that it is the earth and the atmospheric region together as a pair. Thus the three worlds are taken up as forming a pair in two ways. When the earth is the mother, then the heaven and the atmospheric region form a unit as the father. When the heaven is the father, the earth and the atmospheric region form a unit. In the first combination, sound is the daughter of heaven (formed by both the atmosphere and the heaven); in the second combination, heaven (singly) is the father and the sound is not the daughter of this heaven as a single factor. I am not trying to conceal an unpleasant element. The incest is what has found its way to the later epics, and Sāyaṇa clearly refers to it in this connection. I am simply trying to read some sense into what is really a mystery, an enigma. I am only trying to cut the path; I am not at all showing the destination after having already reached the destination. I am not even sure of the exact meaning which Dīrghatamas could have had when he composed this verse. In this connection I may state that even in the case of the birth of Dīrghatamas, according to tradition, there is an element of incest involved, that between a person and his brother's wife, who is the mother of Dīrghatamas. But there is no hint of this in the whole of the poems of Dīrghatamas. Further it is nothing unlikely that in dealing with Nature, with heaven and earth, the poet had introduced an element of incest also.

xxxiv, xxxv

60. After describing his relations with his father and mother and also with the earth and the heaven and the world, after he had the illumination as a poet, he now takes up the question of how he feels about the world itself in his social life. He had been participating in the rituals of worship

before and now he is sitting before the altar at a similar ritual. The ritual itself has taken a new form in his eyes. He finds some sort of unity between the world and the ritual. It is not something within the world; it has become, for him, the entire world itself. He sees in that ritual the world process as a unity, included in it. This is what is made clear in the poem on *Puruṣa* (Person). There is a unity between the entire activity in the evolution process in the universe and the ritual.

61. Till then he had been seeing the altar as a small place within the immense world; now he finds the altar as forming the entire universe itself. However far he may be able to view, he sees only the altar. It is even in the farthest distance. He had heard about the navel (middle) of the world activity, the seed from which the world has evolved and the poetry. Now he finds in the ritual the whole world. To him, the ritual has become the navel. The Soma juice is the seed from which the world has evolved. Now poetry has become to him the supreme expanse of the world. *Vyoman* in the verses is the atmospheric region from which the sound is produced. Now, the poet sitting at the altar is the supreme abode for language. The relation between sound or language and the atmospheric region is quite clear in the *Ṛgveda.* Now the poet sitting at the altar in the ritual is that source or abode for the sound. Dīrghatamas is seeing the entire world force and world activity within that ritual at which he was sitting, when he has become a poet.

xxxvi

62. The seed of the world has sprung up in a seven-fold way; but they are only in a half developed condition. There is the ordinance of Viṣṇu, the highest deity in the Veda. That is a place seen only by the poets. When they function in the world, they assume various forms and various activities. These seven, immature seeds, functioning according to the

ordinance of Viṣṇu, remain encircling the whole of the world, encompassing everything. In the text itself there is the repetition of " remaining encircling " and " encompassing ". The seven seeds have their thoughts, they are wise with vibrating thoughts, with their minds. There is the ordinance of Viṣṇu and they themselves have their intellectual capacities and equipments to understand these ordinances and to work out such ordinances. I am not sure of the seven seeds in a half developed form. They are not clear and manifest; they stand behind the activities of the world. In the poem on the Person, it is the gods and the poets and the *Sādhyas* (those with full accomplishments) who stand behind the world process of evolution. Now, in his altered intellectual conditions, he is able to see the world in its full function and from its sources.

xxxvii

63. He is himself a little amazed at the changed condition in which he finds himself when he has become a poet. That is what we find in the *Rāmāyaṇa*, when poetic language with rhythm and music and beauty flew from the mouth of Vālmīki. He could not understand what had become of him. Dīrghatamas says that he does not know what he has become like. He knows that he is no longer the old Dīrghatamas; he is not able to say how the change came about and he is not able to point out to a similar object in the world. He has begun to wander about in a hidden way, completely tied on to his thoughts. When the language that is the first born of the Law of the world came up to him, it was then that he was able to enjoy the share of that language. He will say presently that there is a concealed portion in the language which only the gifted poets can understand. It is only along with that portion that the language can become what it was when it was born in the evolved, moving world.

xxxviii

64. Now there is a double personality in him. There is the personality of the ordinary mortal man in him and there is also the special, immortal, poet's personality, in him. Both remain in the same body of his. It is not a reference to the fraternal relation between himself as the immortal, being a poet, and others who remain mortal like the ordinary men. These two personalities, united eternally to each other, move round and at the same time move in different directions. The personality of the ordinary man is directed towards the common things of the external world; the personality of the poet is directed inwards to the ultimate truths of the world. I am not able to explain the point in the light of modern psychology. But the awareness of a double personality in Dīrghatamas is worthy of careful notice.

65. In the first half there is the singular number and in the second half there is the dual number. As a single personality he goes rearwards and forwards, both being united in a single person. But when there is the round-about movement, there are different directions in which they move. When he has to look round towards the entire world, it is then that the two personalities appear in their different aspects.

66. In these two verses, there is a description of the double personality in a poet. When I was closely studying the real meaning of a former verse in which there is the reference to the two birds sitting on the same tree, I felt that there too the reference may be to such a double personality. If that verse had stood separately, I would have interpreted the verse in that way. There is a double personality (the two birds) resorting to the same tree (the body). The poet enjoys and the ordinary person simply stares on. But the tree is the place, it is said in that context, where other birds (the poets)

drinking the honey (sweetness of poetry) also sit. There is also the mention of a similar tree in connection with Yama. For these reasons I did not introduce the point of the double personality in that context. What I was absolutely sure of in that context is that there is no reference to the supreme self and to the individual self in this world. Such an interpretation is against the spirit of the *Ṛgvedic* philosophy and also contrary to the context. In this present context, the reference is to the double personality in a poet and not to two distinct persons, the poet and another, one of whom being mortal and the other immortal.

xxxix

67. There was a reference to the supreme expanse, the supreme abode, of language in the question and answer about the farthest end of the earth and so on. Now there is again a reference to that supreme expanse, that supreme abode of language. There it was said that the poet *(Brahmā)* is the supreme expanse or supreme abode. Now the syllables of the poetry, (*ṛk*) are stated to be that supreme abode of the language. What we ordinarily hear as language is not the real abode of language; the real language abides only in poetry. The gods sit in that supreme abode, the syllable of the poetry. With ordinary poetry man can express only ordinary things of the world. It is only in poetry that the gods can be manifested in their true form. If a man does not know the syllables in poetry in that way, as the abode of the gods, as portraying the gods, the syllables in that poetry are of no value to such a man. Those who understand the poetry as the abode of the gods, as portraying the gods, such people can sit together with the gods in that poetry. If a man understands poetry, he finds himself in communion with the gods through that poetry. In the context, it must be understood that Dīrghatamas makes no distinction between

a critic of poetry who understands the essence of poetry and a poet.

xl

68. Dīrghatamas now re-introduces the imagery of the cow that yields milk and that makes a bellowing sound. He addresses the poetry in the words that a house-holder who owns such cows, will use in addressing his cow. The poetry with only one quarter, two quarters, four quarters, eight quarters and even a thousand quarters, it is such a poetry that remains in the syllables of the poetry, which is the supreme abode of language. Dīrghatamas wishes the cow, his poetry, to be eating good barley; when the cow eats good barley, then she is full of wealth, that is, milk, and thereby, the owner too becomes rich with that milk. The cow is asked to eat grass and also to drink water, always. The cow is incapable of being killed and similarly, his poetry too will remain eternally in the world. Dīrghatamas as a poet has proved himself, at this far distant date, to be a true prophet regarding what are permanent and what are destroyed in a moment. A well-fed cow does not die; similarly good poetry never dies.

xli

69. Such a cow produces the waters, the happiness in a superior position, some sort of transcendental happiness; it is not happiness after death in heaven.

xlii

70. From that cow flows the oceans and it is on account of such a flow of the oceans from her that the people and the living beings and other things in all the directions of space continue their life. Thence there sheds down what cannot be destroyed. One may note the use of the two words *Kṣarati* (ṣheds down) and *akṣaram* (what cannot drop down, what cannot he destroyed) implying an apparent contrast. The

entire world lives in dependence on it. Poetry, according to Dīrghatamas, is the support of life in this world.

xliii

71. Now, the whole situation changes. Dīrghatamas says that he has been seeing the smoke arising from the cow-dung cakes, at a distance. It was all around, above and below. That is the smoke from the fire in which the heroes were cooking a spotted bull. It is such activities that became the primal laws of the universe. There is no doubt that Dīrghatamas is seeing the smoke from a place where they were conducting a ritual of worship. There is the fire kindled for making the offerings to the gods, and smoke rises out of that fire when fuel and various articles are placed in it. Soma is being offered to the gods in that fire. It is such activities of the heroes of old that became the primal acts of moral life in the world. The Bull is Soma, and there are many places where Soma is compared to a bull. The picture is that of a place, perhaps in the city squares or open places, where people gather together and burn cow-dung cakes and roast the bulls for eating. That picture is here brought in to describe a ritual of worship in which Soma is offered in the fire. Such rituals of worship mark the start of moral life, the reign of law, among humanity. This point is also repeated at the end of this poem and also at the end of the poem about the Person (*Puruṣa*).

xliv

72. Dīrghatamas is now reverting to the light in the three worlds ; it is this that he introduced to begin the poem. Now he is picturing the three lights as three horses with good names. At proper times they view the whole world. One of them, the earthly Fire, consumes the dry articles on the earth. The sun moving in the atmospheric region views the whole world with his powers. There is the light in the highest

region and its path is noticed while its form is not seen. Perhaps this last is a reference to Viṣṇu with his three strides. There is no doubt that Dīrghatamas had the three Fires in front of him, in his mind; he is able to have a vision of the light placed in the three regions when he was seeing the Fires in front. This is mysticism.

xlv

73. Dīrghatamas had been making statements about language and its position in the supreme region. Now he explains the point more clearly. He draws the distinction between the language that is used by the ordinary people and the language used by a poet. If language is cut into four quarters, all the four quarters of it will be known only to the poets with imagination; of them three quarters remain concealed in the cave and are not moving. It is only the fourth quarter, just one quarter, which men use in this world. This has no reference to the vocabulary; it refers to the power of expression which the language bears. Only a poet can use language in such a way that the secrets of the world are made manifest.

xlvi

74. It has already been stated in a former verse that the gods occupy the syllable of the poetry, which forms the supreme abode. Dīrghatamas is now taking up the point of the gods. The gods described in poetry should not be taken as a few individuals, each separate from the others. The gods are the forces in the universe that function in the orderly progression of the world. There is the Law. It has also been said that the world moves according to the ordinance of Viṣṇu. The gods were spoken of in the plural with the picture in his mind of the State with a king and with the officials functioning in it for orderly life within the State. Now he is making his position clear.

75. They speak about Indra, Mitra, Varuṇa and Agni. Then there is really only the bird (Suparṇa), the divine, having good feathers as a God. This bird is the bird mentioned in the seventh verse in the beginning; and that is the light in the highest heaven which came into the mystic vision of Dīrghatamas when he was seeing the Fire in front of him. Really that is the only power in this universe. Poets express that One Power in many different ways; they speak of him as Agni, Yama and Mātariśvan.

76. I do not know why only these names are given and not the names of the other gods. We do not find the Aśvins in the list. Agni is mentioned twice, as the last in the first group of four gods given in the first line and as the first of the three gods given in the last line. Perhaps when continuing the list, he repeated the last in the first list. Agni cannot be two separate gods in the two places. The four gods are given together elsewhere also in the *Ṛgveda*. There is the incident of Mātariśvan showing Agni to Yama; this may be the reason why they are mentioned together in the last line.

77. This verse, especially the third line, has became very popular as expressing Monism in the universe. There is no Monism expressed here. It is only the unity of the gods, bearing different appellations that is stated here. It cannot also be called Monotheism. In Monotheism, there is a personality in that God that is One. Here it is, rather, certain powers in the abstract that is kept in view; they are certain powers that function in the evolution and progression of life in the world.

xlvii

78. What is One and what is known by different appellations in the compositions of the poets is designated a bird in this verse, and the idea is continued in the next verse where there is a mention of many birds. They must be the One Bird in different appellations. Here they are spoken of as

horses having good wings, or it may also mean the ruddy birds. *Hari* means both ruddy and horse. Having used the word *Suparṇa* (bird) with the qualification *Garutmān* (having good wings) in one verse, it is more natural that in the next verse, he uses the word *Suparṇa* in the sense of birds, and then the word *Hari* can mean only the colour. There was also a reference to water in previous verses (40, 41 and 42). Here the birds are spoken of as robed in waters, wearing waters as robes. They were, as a single Bird, in the supreme abode, the abode of the Law or of the truth. As many birds, they come down to the earth among men. They soak the earth with the waters (ghee). The word *Ghṛta* means water, according to Yāska in the *Nighaṇṭu.* The Fire in front of Dīrghatamas was spoken of as having *Ghṛta* on its back, even in the first verse. The essence, the juice, all are known by more or less similar names. Here also, the idea is that the poetry flew down into the earth among men.

xlviii

79. Now the imagery of the chariot returns. Here there is the reference to a chariot with a single wheel and twelve spokes; there are also three nails in it. Dīrghatamas asks who could know that imagery. The meaning is that he has come to a stage when he has been able to understand the mystery. The one wheel is the sun with the twelve months as spokes. The three nails are the three worlds. On this chariot are placed three hundred and sixty poles, which are the days in the year. Earlier they were spoken of as three hundred and sixty pairs of children, a son and a daughter being a pair; the day and the night was such a pair. Here they are spoken of as poles. They never shake at all; they are well fixed. The poles are placed in rows on either side of a cart and they would usually be shaking; this is the ordinary condition. Here he shows the difference between the ordinary carts and

this cart. If there are so many poles placed and if none of them shakes, that must be a wonderful construction.

xlix

80. Now, Dīrghatamas is closing his poem, full of mysticism, symbolism and enigma, and he addresses the River Goddess Sarasvatī. She is thought of as a mother who gives milk to a child from the breast. What a poem can give to a man is compared to what a mother gives to the baby. There is usually an end to the season when the milk is available in the mother's breast; here there is no such end, it being continuous, lasting (*Śaśayaḥ*). It gives vitality. It supplies in immense quantity whatever nourishment is wanted, whatever is coveted by the baby. There is a supply of gems here, there is wealth, there is free gift. Dīrghatamas asks Sarasvatī to make that breast of hers available for him as a mother makes her breast available for the baby to drink.

l

81. Dīrghatamas is sitting before the altar in which the Fire was being kindled. That is an occasion of a ritual of worship. That ritual is modelled on the primal ritual performed by the gods. It is that primal ritual of worship that became the first Law for the right movement and progression in the world. Such greatnesses reached the heaven, where the prior Sādhyas and the gods are remaining. The primal ritual performed by the gods did not remain confined to the earth; they had their extension even to the heaven, and the Sādhyas and the Gods were there from the very beginning. This is the closing verse in the poem about the Person (*Puruṣa*) also. In that poem the whole world process from its first movement was conceived of as a ritual performed by the Sādhyas and the gods and by the original poets. The ritual of worship performed by men in later times is modelled on

that primal ritual performed by the gods and the Sādhyas. According to the poem on the Person (*Puruṣa*), the Sādhyas and the gods are distinct entities; so are the primal poets (the *Ṛṣis*). In later mythology, the Sādhyas are a kind of demi-gods. They are so called since they have accomplished everything they wanted by themselves. They are distinct from the gods who are called the Devas. The word is not seen in any other context and such an order of beings is not also known elsewhere in the Vedas; we have the Gandharvas in the *Ṛgveda*.

li

82. The water mentioned in some of the previous verses is now taken up. Day after day, this water goes up and comes down, all alike. There is no difference between this day and that day. There is no difference between the upward movement and the downward movement. This is the water which the Deity of rains, Parjanya, showers down as rain on the earth, and it is the *Ghṛta* (ghee) which the fire takes up to the gods in heaven. This exchange of wealth is the result of the ritual of worship. In the ritual the ghee is taken up to the gods by the Fire and in return, there is rain pouring down into the earth, showered down by the gods who are pleased with the rituals of worship. Kālidāsa refers to this exhange in his *Raghuvaṁśa* and this is also mentioned in the *Bhagavad Gītā*. The idea is found elsewhere also in the *Ṛgveda*.

lii

83. Now Dīrghatamas finally closes his poem with an invocation to the bird mentioned in a few of the previous verses; there is also reference to the water and the womb within the waters. He is here spoken of as also the womb of the herbs. It is that bird that gives satisfaction and contentment to the people during the rainy season. Dīrghatamas wants the Sarasvān to give proper protection to him and to all.

There have been references to the father and to the mother. Sarasvatī was mentioned as a mother; here the father is Sarasvān. That must be wisdom, while Sarasvatī is the language, spoken of as the mother. The poem started with the father of seven sons. There were seven sisters in a later verse and also seven ones born simultaneously, among whom there is One born separately and the six as *Ṛṣis*. There was also a mention of seven half-developed embryos.

84. The poem is full of mysticism, full of numbers and of imagery. We do not know the full value of the symbols, either as numbers or as imagery. We know about cows and the milking of the cow and the calf and the bellowing; we know also about chariots and their parts, especially about the wheels and the spokes. Yet there are many points that we do not know. The whole poem must have been quite plain to the people of those days. They knew the entire set of symbols, the full value of the numbers. We must also note that the poem was not composed for the ordinary people; he was reciting the poem before an audience of learned persons. If the poem had been a very simple one, without symbolism and mysticism, Dīrghatamas would not have been recognised as a great poet.

85. There is one thing which we even in this far distance cannot miss. There is an artistic unity. There is a continuity of thought. The poem closes with a contact with the point at which it started; that means that it is like a necklace, a work of art. There are beautiful imageries; there are also similes. Some clever handling of language too is very plain. It is a grand poem; it is also a beautiful poem, full of Nature and mysticism and symbolism. The picture of the cow and the calf and the milking, the eager look of the cow to see that the calf goes to her and drinks the milk, the eagerness of the calf to go to the mother, the bellowing and the various other details are full of feeling. The picture of Sarasvatī as a mother

is another such one with tender feelings. The way in which the common people gather in street corners or in city squares or in the open fields to roast a bull in cow-dung fire is another one that cannot but attract our admiration, with the common people and their simple ways of life, brought into a situation of the grand religious ritual; this is another remarkable combination of contrasts which only a real poet can reconcile.

86. There are also certain dexterous plays on words, repetitions of words and of even passages, as in the case of the question and the answer about the altar and other factors in a ritual. There is the combination of " *Kṣaraty akṣaram* " with an implied contrast. A parallel like " *bhūmim parjanyā jinvanti divam jinvanty agnayaḥ* " may also be noted for the beautiful handling of the sound in the language. There are many others too in the *Ṛgveda*.

87. There is a certain story about the birth of Dīrghatamas, how he was born blind. I have given the story in the edition of this grand poem with notes and translation and with two ancient commentaries. There are other stories about him and also stories about his son Kakṣīvān. I think that the story about the birth of Dīrghatamas has been invented to explain the name, which means " one in long darkness ". We know from the poem itself that he was in the darkness of ignorance about the truth of the universe; that must be the reason why he was known by that name. In the closing verse of one of his poems, he mentions his own name as Dīrghatamas, son of Mamatā (who is the mother), having become aged in his tenth *Yuga*, and also as having become a poet and such a charioteer for those who were striving to get at the goal of the waters. From the poem that has been explained, we know what the waters are; they are the poetry. The term Aucathya, son of Ucathya, also is used by him. The name Dīrghatamas is also mentioned by a poet named Śaśakarṇa of the Kaṇva family along with Kakṣīvān and

Vyaśva, who were all protected by the Aśvins. If his father had been Ucathya that must be the reason why he was talking about his own name as famous, being the son of a father. Ucathya means, " one worthy of *Ucatha* or poetry. " I have not been able to get at any definite evidence within the *Ṛgveda* itself about his being the father of Kakṣīvān. The ancient indices give the name Kakṣīvān as that of the son of Dīrghatamas, and there are also many stories current in later times about the birth and life of Kakṣīvān. Kakṣīvān is also a famous poet whose many compositions find a place in the *Ṛgveda*, and these poems come before those of Dīrghatamas. Kakṣīvān also speaks of the protection which he received from the Aśvins, and this story is known to other poets too. I have given, just above, one reference to the story of Kakṣīvān as known to other poets. The event of the protection which Kakṣīvān received from the Aśvins is also known to Savya of the Aṅgiras family as one who had pressed Soma for Indra, to Medhātithi of the Kaṇva family, to Vāmadeva, as a great poet with imagination and to others. Since both the father and the son are known to other poets, they must be taken as very ancient poets of the Vedic age. About the father of Dīrghatamas we know only the name; we have reasons to assume that he must have been a famous poet. He and his son are both great poets whose compositions fill a good part of the *Ṛgveda*.

88. There is a view that the poem, being full of philosophy, must be put to a rather late stage in the history of the *Ṛgveda*, which has developed during a long period. But there is internal evidence to show that the name is known to those who are definitely put to a very early stage in the history of the *Ṛgveda*, the poet of the fourth Book and the poets in the eighth Book. The seven Books from the second to the eighth are taken to be the earliest, and the first and the last Books are taken to be rather late ones. This theory is against the

internal evidence in the *Ṛgveda*, and according to this evidence, Dīrghatamas is a very early poet of the Vedic period and he may even be called pre-Vedic, since the name and the achievements of his son are known to some of the earliest among the poets of the *Ṛgveda*.

II. BṚHASPATI

1. Bṛhaspati is definitely one of the gods in the *Ṛgveda.* There are many poems addressed to him and he is also called by the appellation of Brahmaṇas pati. Both mean the same, the lord of poetry. Like the Aṅgirases, he is associated with Indra in his encounter with Vala and in the recovery of the cows concealed by the latter in the mountains. Apart from this Bṛhaspati who is a god, there is also a poet whose contributions form a part of the available collection of the *Ṛgveda.* It is for this reason that the name is being considered in this book. As a god, he is mentioned by Yāska in his *Nighaṇṭu*, along with the names of the other gods. The name is also considered by Yāska for interpretation along with the names of the other gods. The name of the Aṅgiras does not appear in the work of Yāska in this way, though the name of Yama appears in it.

2. Bṛhaspati is noticed as a god on the earth. The gods are divided into three classes, those on the earth, those in the atmospheric region and those in the celestial region. The other gods in the earthly region are Agni (Fire) and Soma. The rivers and the earth are definitely so; but they are gods in a different sense. Was Bṛhaspati a mortal who attained divine status? There is no such mention in the Veda, as there is in the case of the group of seven gods known as the Maruts, associated with the storm, and as is also the case with the Ṛbhus, another set of three gods. Yama is also spoken of as having been a mortal who attained immortality by finding out the Path and going along that Path to the

other region. But we do not have any mention of such a pre-divine stage for Bṛhaspati. At the same time, he is also a poet whose two pieces are incorporated in the available text of the *Ṛgveda*. These two pieces are of highly philosophical interest and for this reason Bṛhaspati is given a place along with the other teachers and philosophers, in this book.

3. As a poet, Bṛhaspati belongs to the Aṅgiras family. He is also associated with Indra, along with the Aṅgirases, in one of his chief exploits, the killing of Vala. In his descriptions, he is a great poet. There is mention of poetry as a very prominent feature in him, perhaps more prominent than in the case of the Aṅgirases. There are certain features in him like being endowed with seven mouths, and seven songs. In relation to the features like these, the two poems seem to be from the same person who has such special characteristics. For such reasons I am not making any distinction between Bṛhaspati the god and Bṛhaspati the poet.

4. My own view is that Bṛhaspati is essentially a man who was deified on account of his superior talents and achievements; he was associated with Indra in his exploits. Just as it is the Soma ritual that gave strength to Indra to fight with Vṛtra and kill him, it is poetry and song that gave Indra the strength to fight with Vala and release the cows after killing him. Vṛtra had stopped the waters from flowing and when Vṛtra was killed, waters began to flow freely in the seven rivers (*Saptasindhu*); when Vala was killed it was the cows that were released from the mountain where they had been concealed. It is no wonder that in the eyes of the poets of the *Ṛgveda* Bṛhaspati was closely related to this exploit of Indra, on account of his poetic talents.

5. In dealing with Bṛhaspati as a god, I have to consider the poems addressed to him; I have also to consider the contexts where in other poems of the *Ṛgveda*, there is a reference to Bṛhaspati. In dealing with him as a poet, I have to consider

the two poems attributed to him according to the ancient indices. There are five poems entirely addressed to Bṛhaspati. In nine other poems there are verses addressed to him; in some of them nearly the whole piece is addressed to him, with a small number of verses addressed to the other gods. In one whole poem, he is addressed along with Indra, and in three poems they are addressed together in some of the verses. The name occurs in various other contexts also.

6. There are a few verses in which he is addressed along with Indra, Soma and Dakṣiṇā. This shows the divine nature of Bṛhaspati; Brahmaṇas pati is Bṛhaspati himself though in some contexts, Brahmaṇas pati seems to be Agni and not Bṛhaspati. I have introduced this context only to show that while Yama and the Aṅgirases are not coupled with other gods, Bṛhaspati is so coupled. There are many other gods who are thus coupled to form a dual god like Mitrā-Varuṇa, Indra-Vāyu and Dyāvā-pṛthivī.

7. (1) The invoker was performing the worship; those with great desire expressed their desires for what is covetable. Bṛhaspati is performing the worship, the beloved, with the Bulls, with the Bulls having big tails. We have thereupon taken hold of the songs of the press stone that could be heard far off. One with great intellectual powers (Bṛhaspati himself) has received the waters, many homes, one with great intellectual powers. Here definitely, Bṛhaspati is one among those who were performing the worship at the rituals.

(2) There is a whole poem of eight verses addressed to Bṛhaspati by Agastya. He is spoken of as having a sweet tongue (*mandra-jihva*). He is to be made to prosper through new poems. He is spoken of as raising his hands to receive the songs.

(3) Gods attained the share of the worship performed by Bṛhaspati. He is the producer of all songs as the sun is the generator of the rays. Here the poems of Bṛhaspati seem

to be compared to the rays of light coming from the sun. He sits in a shining chariot of the Law; he bursts open the cow-stall and he found out the light. He has made a Path and the poets sing with their songs for the sake of his ordinances. He is asked to kill those who speak ill of the gods. He is asked to kill the enemies as a chariot. He is to manifest his powers that are worthy of praise. He along with Indra as companion, broke open the ocean of waters that was shrouded in darkness; here he is addressed as Aṅgiras. In the whole poem the main topic is the destruction of the enemies.

(4) He has a sweet tongue. He fixes the ends of the earth. He occupies the three positions through his sound. Ancient poets have placed him in front, singing about him. Soma is pressed for him like a moat that has been dug. He was the first born in the highest heaven of great light. He has seven mouths. He became great through his voice. He cleared the darkness with his seven rays. The seven rays must be the light of his songs. Along with the group (of Aṅgiras) he killed Vala with his voice and he let loose the cows that yield the oblations (in the form of milk), bellowing, himself making a roaring noise. Those who worship Bṛhaspati become rich and prosperous—this is the main point here. Bṛhaspati knew the path when they were making a search of the cows. Steeds that are red, carry Bṛhaspati.

(5) In a poem of three verses, Bṛhaspati is spoken of as the breaker of the mountain, as the first born, possessor of the Law, belonging to the Aṅgiras Family, offerer of oblations, our father; he roars in the two worlds of earth and heaven. He kills the sins, breaks off the fortress. He won the herds of cows and he kills the enemies with his songs.

(6) Ayāsya, a member of the Aṅgiras family, speaks of Bṛhaspati as "our father" (*Pitā naḥ*); it is said that this thought (*dhiyam*), perhaps the poetic talent, was obtained by Bṛhaspati, the thought being endowed with seven heads,

born of Law and great. Bṛhaspati darted weapons made of stones (*Aśman*), singing songs along with his companions as with swans. Bṛhaspati roared again and again and won the cows and sang songs. He recovered the cows placed in the bridge of untruth, in the cave; he wanted to win light in the darkness and created light. He created the dawn, the sun and the cow of poetry, roaring like a cloud. Indra secured the release of the cows from Paṇi, killing Vala who kept them. The whole poem of twelve verses describes the activity of Bṛhaspati in securing the release of the cows kept in the cave by the Paṇis, with Vala as their leader.

(7) There is a whole poem addressed to Indra and Bṛhaspati jointly. There are a few other places where they are addressed together. But there is practically no mention of their collaboration in winning the cows, in those places. It is only in two poems about Bṛhaspati that there is a detailed description of the event.

8. He is known as a member of the Aṅgiras family and the term Āṅgirasa, son of Aṅgiras or a member of his family, is applied to him in many cases. But like all the gods, we get much about his physical features, and this is something which we do not get in the case of men like Yama and the Aṅgirases. He is called *Tīkṣṇa-śṛṅga* (with sharp horns). He has a hundred wings (*śata-patra*), bearing a hatchet of gold (*hiraṇya-vāśīḥ*). The string of his bow is the Law (*ṛta-jyā*); he discharges arrows with his bow. He has an axe (*Paraśu*) made of iron (*ayas*). His chariots are drawn by ruddy steeds (*aruṣāso aśvāḥ*). He is the son of the two worlds, heaven and earth (*Rodasī*); Tvaṣṭar created him.

9. He is a great poet and the gods Indra, Varuṇa, Mitra and Aryaman take their abode in his poetry. What is most prominent about him is that he sings and is also accompanied by singers. Perhaps it is the Aṅgirases that are meant as his companions in singing. He is also closely allied with

the adventure of Indra in killing Vala and releasing the cows, an occasion in which the Aṅgirases also have a prominent part. The Paṇis are also mentioned along with Bṛhaspati.

10. In later times Bṛhaspati became the teacher of the Gods, with Śukra or Uśanas as the teacher of the Asuras (Demons). Uśanas comes into the *Ṛgveda*, but there is no connection between him and the demons. Bṛhaspati the poet, whose two poems are given a place in the *Ṛgveda*, is known also as Āṅgirasa, son of Aṅgiras or a member of the Aṅgiras family, and also as Laukya, son of Loka. Loka means "world". What is interesting in this term is that there is a school of thought in later times that is called the Cārvāka system. It is supposed to have been founded by Bṛhaspati and that is also called Lokāyatika. There is some connection between the name of the system and the name associated with Bṛhaspati, as the son of Loka. The first of the two poems is by Bṛhaspati of the Aṅgiras family; it is in the case of the second poem that there is given an alternative author, namely, Bṛhaspati son of Loka (*Laukya*). Dākṣāyiṇī and Aditi are also given as alternative authors; thus there are four authors given as alternatives. In the first of them, the subject matter is given as wisdom, and that is the reason for including Bṛhaspati in this book. Otherwise I would have left him off simply as a god and not taken him up as a teacher or philosopher. There are eleven verses in this poem about wisdom.

i

11. The first verse is addressed to Bṛhaspati himself. There is room for doubt about the authorship of the poem. Sāyaṇa says that Bṛhaspati addresses himself. It is also likely that the poem is addressed to Bṛhaspati by some one else. We do not know who it is. It is just like the poem about Yama which is assigned to Yama as the author. There are also the poems about Hiraṇyagarbha and about

Viśvakarman, where the authors are given as Hiraṇyagarbha, son of Prajāpati and as Viśvakarman themselves. All that we can say is that like the poem about Yama, here also Bṛhaspati is in the picture, and that whatever is given here may be taken as the views of Bṛhaspati himself, whether it is addressed to him by another or he composed the poem and is addressing himself.

12. There were the people who knew the names or the meanings of language, the first and the topmost. They let out that meaning to be spread among humanity. There is something that is supreme among the meanings, what is faultless. What was hidden in the cave became revealed to them out of love.

13. There is the language; there is the meaning. They were related to each other from the beginning, even at the top of everything in the universe. There were also some original teachers who knew the meanings of the words in the language and it is they who gave currency to the language with its meaning. They did not reveal the entire language. There was a part, the best and the faultless part, which was concealed in the cave. That part is revealed only to those who knew the language and its meaning, and not to all. The possible fault in the language is that the word may not fully represent the real thing in its true nature; there may be the limitations in the language due to the personality of the speaker and his own notions about things. The exact language without that fault, which represents the things of the world in their true nature, became revealed only to those who gave the first currency to the language, and it remained concealed in the cave unknown to the people at large.

14. The same idea is found in the poem by Dīrghatamas where it is said that if the language is divided into four parts only one part is known to the people and is in use among them; only the gifted poets with imagination can understand

all the four parts, and the other three parts remain concealed in the cave, unmoving. The language refuses to reveal itself to the ordinary people; out of love, it reveals itself to the few gifted people who are able to know the real meaning of the words and their relation to the actual facts of the world. This love which language bears to the gifted people will become clear in the following portion of the poem in the fourth verse.

15. Man's knowledge is something which man acquires directly form within himself through his own powers. The relation between word and meaning is eternal, without being created by any one, not even by God. It is not a mere convention among men. This is the theory in Mīmāṁsā; that theory goes back to the earliest times in the history of Indian thought. There was the distinction between those who knew the real meaning of a word and those who knew only the general meaning. It is the words of those who knew the real meaning that is called the Veda; in the Vedic collection it is only the poetry of those who could see the truth in its absolutely objective nature and who could express such truths in true language, that has been incorporated; such poets are called the Ṛṣis. There is no mysterious sanctity attached to the Vedic texts by later people in an artificial way to compel belief from the credulous people.

ii

16. People in the homes clean the flour with the use of a winnowing basket; they separate what is wanted from what is not wanted. In the same manner, people who have intellectual talents construct the poetic language with their mental powers, making the proper selection between words that can be used in the context and words that cannot be so used, that have to be discarded in the context. It is on such occasions that companions know their companionship. Their lustre, what is auspicious, remains concealed in their words.

17. On the occasions of the performance of the rituals of worship like the Soma Sacrifice, learned people assemble. They compose new poems. Such new poems are recited by them sitting before the Fire Altar. The wise people listen. If they are satisfied that the new poetry represents the truth in its real objective nature, then the poetry is accepted as a *Mantra*, as a *Brahman*. The poet is recognised as a true poet, as Ṛṣi. The occasion is known as *Vidatha*, a word that is derived from the root *Vid* " to know " and the occasion can be called an assembly of learned people, a learned assembly. It was the most covetable privilege for any one to be permitted to address such a learned assembly by reciting his poetry. Gṛtsamada, the main poet of the second Book of the *Ṛgveda* closes most of his poems in that Book with the statement: " May we be able to address a *Vidatha* (learned assembly) along with our heroic sons (*vīras*) ". The statement is, " *bṛhad vadema vidathe suvīrāḥ*." There is also the other statement met with in the *Ṛgvedic* poetry, " *Suvīrāso vidatham ā vadema* "; the meaning is the same for both. When the bride, after the wedding, starts for the home of the bride-groom, there is the blessing, " Being in control of the house-hold you will be able to address a learned assembly "—*vaśinī tvam vidatham ā vadāsi*." There is a similar blessing to the couple, " Then, in old age, may you both be able to address a learned assembly "—*athā jivrī vidatham ā vadāthāḥ*.

18. Here also the occasion is such a learned assembly; these people with talents distinguish between language worthy of poetry and ordinary, common-place poetry and they compose poems using the language that is fit for poetry. When they recite the poetry before the assembly sitting in front of the Fire-Altar, the learned assembly knows whether the new poet can be accepted as a companion. The lustre of the Ṛṣi is concealed in the words of the poet.

iii

19. On the occasion of the worship, they understand the position of being proper so far as language is concerned. They recognise the language as having entered into a true poet (Ṛṣi). Taking hold of that language, they spread it in many a place through proper publicity. The seven singers praise it together, addressing the audience.

20. It is on such occasions that the true value of words is recognised; they recognise it as having entered within the imagination of a *Ṛṣi*, or true poet; then they announce it as true poetry, what can be called a *Mantra* or a *Brahman*. It is not unlikely that on such occasions seven poets are selected as judges to decide whether the new poem can be recognised as true poetry and whether the poet can be recognised as a true poet or *Ṛṣi*. We hear so much about the seven Ṛṣis, in the *Ṛgveda*. It may be that they are not definite persons, but the seven persons selected as judges of good poetry on such occasions when a poet recites his new poetry. Bṛhaspati has been known to have seven mouths, seven tongues, seven songs and so on. Perhaps it means that what Bṛhaspati says is equal in authority to what the seven poets in such an assembly may decide. And Bṛhaspati or Brahmaṇas pati means "lord of poetry". The custom in those days must be that when the seven poets declare the poetry as worthy of being called a *Mantra* or a *Brahman*, they praise it and then it is given publicity as true poetry recognised by the assembly on the recommendation of the seven judges.

iv

21. The assembly may consist of many people and all of them may not be true poets able to distinguish between true poetry and ordinary language. They all look at the poet reciting the poetry; they all listen to him reciting. But many

of them have not seen the poet, have not heard the poetry. Because the poetic language reveals its charms only to some select people, just as a loving wife wearing fine robes, reveals her charms only to her husband and not to all.

22. People may see a man and people may also hear sounds produced by the man when he recites his composition. But poetry reveals itself as poetry only to the few people whom poetry loves, as was mentioned in the first verse. They alone understand the beauty of poetry and not all the poeple who see the man reciting and who listen to him reciting. There is a difference between the language of poetry and the language of the ordinary people. There is a beauty in the language of poetry which does not exist in the ordinary language. That beauty can be revealed in poetry only by gifted poets and only gifted critics can realise that beauty. Bharata calls it *Rasa* in art; later critics call it by the name of *Dhvani*. It is the secret of art, the mystery (*upaniṣad*) in art. It is not expressed in the language but only implied in the language; ordinary people understand only what is expressed in language and it is only the gifted critics who can detect the implied beauty, hidden in it.

V

23. And further in that companionship, they speak of only some as well protected; even in a battle they cannot injure it. There is another man who wanders about with a cow that yields no milk, nourishing a language which bears neither flowers nor fruits.

24. Here also there is a distinction drawn between the man who has understood the real, inner meaning of language and another who knows only the external meaning of language. The person who has been able to realise the true beauty of poetic language and who has been able to bring out that beauty in poetic language, is well protected. No one can

injure him even in a battle. His position as a *Ṛṣi* or true poet is secure; it is poetry that protects man from dangers and it is poetry that gives strength to the gods to fight evil in the world and to kill the enemies of human welfare. The poet so recognised becomes the protector of man, without any danger of injury to him in battles. But there are others who are not so recognised, perhaps those who tried to secure the position by composing poetry and who failed, being rejected by the judges. They carry the burden of language with them and they have to wander about. Words are very often compared in the *Ṛgvedic* poetry with a cow that yields milk, and his poetry is not such a cow. There is neither flower nor fruits in the tree of poetry that he has cultivated.

25. It may also be a distinction drawn between the man who has been able to realise the beauty in the poetry that was recited and that has been recognised as good poetry deserving the designation of *Mantra* or *Brahman*, and the man who could not so realise the beauty. The former is protected and cannot be injured in a battle; the latter wanders about with the burden of the words that he has listened to; to him that poetry is just like a cow that does not yield milk, like also a tree that bears no flowers and fruits. Such a distinction between one who knows and another who does not know has been made by Dīrghatamas when he said that two birds resort to a common tree as companions and that while one of them enjoys the sweet fruits, the other simply looks on without eating anything.

vi

26. One may abandon his companion who has a common knowledge with him; there is nothing to enjoy in the language of such a person. If one listens to him he listens to what is untrue; he is not able to know the Path of good deeds thereby.

27. This verse is a sequel to the previous one and must be taken along with that one. It has been said in the previous

verse that there is some one who is well protected and who cannot be injured even in a battle. There may be others who know that the poetry was good, who have the same mind regarding the beauty of poetry; but they may be jealous and they may not stand by him. In that case, the true poet is well protected and cannot be injured in a battle. The harm in such an abandonement is only to the person who abandons his companion. They can be really companions only in so far as both are poets who can realise the beauty of poetry, and who, as such, have a common mind. In the case of those who do not realise the beauty of the poetry, their position was already explained in the previous verse. Here the point relates to those who are capable of realising the beauty of the poetry and who refuse to recognise the poetry. In the case of the former, no harm is done to him; he simply wanders about without any profit; in the case of the latter there is a real harm. No one takes heed of his words. And those who listen to such a person, will not understand the path of good conduct in life. It means that he has chosen the wrong path in his life conduct. He will have to suffer for his choice.

vii

28. All the people in the assembly are companions to the extent that they all have eyes and ears. But they are not equal in the matter of the speed with which their minds can move. There is the same difference between them as there is between two lakes. One may have water only to the chest of a man while the other can come up to his nose. But there are others that are deep and that are thereby fit for men to bathe fully in them. In this way the lakes are found to be different, though all of them have water in them.

29. Everything where water is clogged is a lake; but it does not mean that all the lakes are the same. There can be the difference among them on account of the depth or

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shallowness of the water, on account of the water being deep and fit for bathing and so on. In the same way men are all men; yet there is difference among them; they are not all equal on account of the fact that they all can see and hear. Some are deep; others are shallow. Some hear words that have a meaning and understand it, while others hear the same words and do not understand the meaning. The difference is in their intellectual capacities. It is only some men who can understand the full meaning and the real beauty in the language of a poet. This verse repeats in another way the meaning of the fourth verse.

viii

30. When the speed of the progress of the mind has been determined through the heart, and when the poets all sit together, as companions and perform the worship, well, among them some one may be discarded by what are worthy to be known; others, the band of the real poets, move about in joy.

31. There are many people assembled on the occasion of the worship. On such occasions, some one is allowed to exhibit the speed of the movement of his mind by reciting his new poetry, and his abilities are recognised; in such an event, all the people who are assembled there may not take part in the worship. It is really those who are true poets that work together as companions in the act of worship. There are some who have not been able to understand what is worthy of being known on the occasion; they have not understood the true meaning of the poem recited; they are abandoned by that meaning. It is only the others, those who have realised the true beauty of the poem that is recited, that are free to move about in the worship with no restrictions, in their own rights, without any favour being shown to them for their position on the occasion.

ix

32. Those who are not allowed to move about with the same freedom and with the same honour, either in the recent times or in the ancient times, are those who are not allowed the position of being poets, and they are not allowed a part in the actual rituals of the worship by way of pressing the Soma. They understand the word of the poetry in an out of the way manner, and not being able to understand things rightly, weave yarns into clothes.

33. There are two words in the verse that are not quite clear: *sirīḥ* and *tantra*. They are differently interpreted by Sāyaṇa and by the other exponents of the Vedas. I have given my own meaning. My view is that there is an implied simile in the end. Sāyaṇa takes *sirī* to mean *sīra*, which is the plough. He says that such people take to farming. The word occurs only in this place in the *Ṛgveda*. There is no doubt that the word *tantra* is related to *tantu*, and *tantu* means "thread". The word *sirīḥ* must be the accusative plural of *sirī*. Either they spin cotton into yarn or they weave clothes out of yarn. They put the words lengthwise and crosswise. It may as well be, if the meaning is the first of the two alternatives just suggested, that they spin the words, twist the words. There is the word *pāpa* in the plural, occurring in the *Ṛgveda*; it has no signification of any moral defect; it means only "a way out of the natural and proper."

x

34. All the companions feel happy on account of the glory that has come, through their new companion who is worthy of their assembly. It destroys all their faults; it brings them their drinks. He becomes properly placed for the part that he has to take in the worship.

35. It is when a man has composed a poem and when that poem has been approved by the learned and wise persons who have assembled there, that there is a new glory that a new member has been admitted to the assembly who has been declared worthy of becoming a suitable member of the assembly. It is an occasion of great rejoicing to all the assembled members; they have a new companion. There is no more any defect in him and he takes part in the pressing of the Soma drink. He becomes a fit member for performing the worship. That is the greatest honour which a man can covet and which they could bestow on a man. There is jubilation among them all when they have been able to honour a person in such a way.

xi

36. One takes part in the worship by bringing more and more developments to the stock of poetry. Some people sing such poems as songs when there are occasions for singing. Another person, the poet, sits and sings a poem that has been produced. Still another measures the extent of the worship by performing the various rituals that are prescribed for such an occasion.

37. When a person has been admitted into the assembly of the poets, there are various functions which he can perform. Some recite the poems and thus bring a development to the stock of poetry. If they are simply recited by the poet and then forgotten, then there is no increase in the stock of poetry. It is when they are recited on such occasions that there is proper development to the art. It is not enough if they are simply recited; there must be also some music attached to the presentation of good poetry and some people also sing songs, using the poetry that is available. There is the word *śakvarī* in the text. The word means "what has power, what can send out power". It is a particular kind of song.

New poets for whom the wisdom about the truth has arisen and who have been allowed to sit before the Fire-Altar and recite their new poems, sing out his poems which are just born. There are the various rituals associated with the worship and there are others who perform such things. There are certain specific occasions when the worship proceeds, when there should be the recitations and the singing of the poems and when new poets are allowed to recite their new compositions. The pace of this progression in the worship is determined, is measured out, by those who actually perform the rituals. It is only those who have been admitted into the assembly of the learned poets that are allowed to take part in the worship. Others sit there and they are not allowed to move about freely in the place. It is only those who have been admitted into the assembly as poets who can freely go about and do their respective parts in the function.

38. The poets who are thus admitted into the assembly are the foremost among the people. Yet they do not form a hierarchy of Priests. They are citizens in their ordinary life. They are honoured and accepted as leaders of the nation on account of their innate worth and not as members of an Order. They never formed themselves into any Order. They combine the various aspects of man's intellectual activities. There is religion, there is philosophy, there is science and there is art. It is a combination of all such aspects in a man that makes him a poet, a *Brāhmaṇa*. This harmony and unity among the four main functions of human intellect continued in Indian tradition, and that is why there was never a conflict here among these various aspects of man's intellectual capacities.

39. As for the poem discussed above, I am not at all sure of the author. I considered it as belonging to Bṛhaspati since the indices say so. But the first word is addressed to Bṛhaspati, the word being *Bṛhaspate* in the vocative case. It

has been suggested that it may be a mistake for *Bṛhaspateḥ* in the ablative or in the genitive case. In that case, the words would be considered as belonging to *Bṛhaspati* as the first to know the language of poetry or as having sprung from him. But there is the difficulty of accent in taking it as a genitive or ablative.

40. The poem about Yama was ascribed to Yama himself as author; and this poem addressed to Bṛhaspati is ascribed, in the same way, to Bṛhaspati. That is not impossible and we do not know who the real author of the poem is, which is ascribed to Bṛhaspati in the indices. In later times also we have the poetry of the *Mahābhārata* ascribed to Veda Vyāsa, while Veda Vyāsa plays a very prominent part in it; in the same way there is the *Rāmāyaṇa* of Vālmīki in which Vālmīki himself has a prominent part to play. This too may be a device of that nature. When I include this poet in the book under the name of Bṛhaspati, it must be taken with such proper limitations. I am concerned only with the author of a poem and not with any particular personality.

41. There is another poem ascribed to Bṛhaspati the son of Aṅgiras, the same person as the author of the previous poem; it is also ascribed to another Bṛhaspati, son of Loka (Laukya), and also to Dākṣāyiṇī and also to Aditi as alternative authors. The poem is of great interest. There is a description of creation or rather the evolution of the world, in this second poem. I deal with the poem along with the other poem of Bṛhaspati in so far as there is some connection with Bṛhaspati for this poem found in the indices of ancient times.

i

42. We sing about the origin of the gods, in the form of a poem. May one have a vision of it when the songs are being sung in the later periods of the world.

43. The poet proposes to sing about the origin of the gods. He has sung about it in some specific period of time

and he hopes that when the same poem will be recited in later periods in the history of man there would be some one to listen to it and to have a vision of the contents. There are many poems where the poet promises the subject matter of the poem in the beginning. There are poems starting with the statement, "I am singing about the heroic activities of Viṣṇu" and "I am singing about the heroic activities of Indra".

ii

44. It was Brahmaṇas pati who blew out these births of the gods, just as a smith blows out the wind through his bellows. In the period prior to the gods, there arose what "is" from what "was not".

45. We do not know who the poet is who has sung in this way. In this verse, it is said that it was Bṛhaspati, also known as Brahmaṇas pati, who first blew out the gods into a state of existence just as a smith blows wind through his bellows. The wind which does not appear to be there before the blowing, comes into being when the smith blows his bellows. Similarly, Bṛhaspati brought into being the gods who did not appear to be in existence prior to their birth. There is no question of something absolutely non-existent coming into existence by the activities of any one, in this context. The simile makes the point clear.

46. Before Bṛhaspati sang about the gods, no one knew that there were gods. It was when the poet began to sing about them that they actually came into existence. Before that they were like being non-existent, just like the wind which the smith blows out through his bellows. The creation is the creation of a poet; he manifests what was not manifest, what was not known as existing. This may be compared with the first verse in the previous poem, and the suggestion that the word *Bṛahaspate* there, must be an error for *Bṛhaspateḥ*

in the ablative or in the genitive case, in spite of the accent, is supported by this verse.

iii

47. In the first period after the manifestation of the gods, there again came out what was non-existent as existent. After that there arose the space; after that, this took place around what has the feet upwards.

48. When the gods were manifest, it was as being somewhere; therefore there is the manifestation of space. Space expands around what looks like a person lying on his back with his feet stretched upwards. It is not unlikely that here the simile is that of a tree and not of the figure of some person lying on the back with the legs and feet upwards. The roots of the tree shoot upwards and that is the picture of the world according to the imagery in the Vedas. It is found in a poem about Yama and it is also suggested in a poem by Śunaḥśepa; it is clear in the *Kaṭhopaniṣad.* Sāyaṇa gives the hint about a tree, though what he means is not the tree in the well-known Vedic imagery. The world took its regular form in space when the gods became manifest through the activity of the poet.

iv

49. The earth arose out of this being, having the legs and feet upwards. From the earth arose the directions in space. From Aditi was born Dakṣa; Aditi came from Dakṣa.

50. Some receptacle is here imagined with its mouth upwards and it is compared to a being with its legs and feet upwards. In that receptacle was produced the earth. In the original state, there was only space in general, something abstract, without specifications. This abstract space encompassed the receptacle in which the earth was produced. When

the earth was produced, there were some specifications in that space like north and east and south and west and up and down.

51. Dakṣa was born of Aditi and Aditi was born of Dakṣa. Aditi is freedom and Dakṣa is dexterity. Perhaps the idea is that in the free earth there appeared the dexterity to evolve and the earth evolved out of this dexterity. There is a play upon words as is found in the poem of Dīrghatamas towards the end where there is the implication of the father having produced the daughter and then having produced pregnancy in her, his own daughter. Here when it is said that the specifications of space like north and south arose out of the earth, it does not mean that there was production like a jar from clay. It is in consequence of the appearance of the earth that there were directions like north and east. Similarly when there was the earth, there was also the dexterity to produce further evolutions. And this power pervaded the whole of Aditi which may be the free earth.

V

52. Of dexterity, indeed there was born Aditi who is your daughter. After her, following her, were born the gods, who were holy and friends of immortality.

53. In the previous verse it was said that Dakṣa was born from Aditi and Aditi from Dakṣa. This is here emphasised. There is room for doubt about this contradiction of each being born of the other. There is no such origination from each other. What is said is perhaps only thus much that when out of Aditi there arose Dakṣa this Dakṣa helped the continuation of the original Aditi.

54. It is said here that Aditi is the daughter of Dakṣa. The meaning is that but for the production of Dakṣa following the appearance of Aditi, there would have been no further progression, and if the gods arose out of Aditi later, it is in

consequence of the appearance of Dakṣa after Aditi; to that extent, Aditi as the producer of the gods, owes that position to the appearance of Dakṣa. In that way, Aditi has the position of being the daughter of Dakṣa. Aditi in the abstract appeared prior to Dakṣa and Aditi as the mother of the gods came into being only after the appearance of Dakṣa. This is only a poet's way of stating a fact in the process of evolution in the world. There is no relation between them as father and daughter, or as mother and son. It should not be supposed that first Dakṣa was born as Aditi's son and that later Aditi was born as Dakṣa's daughter.

vi

55. When, O gods, you stood well prepared for action in this water, there arose in that place, that is, in the water, the thick and fast dust produced by you, just like the dust kicked up by dancers on the stage when they dance briskly.

What is this water in which the gods stood firm ready for activity so that there should arise a thick dust? Nothing is said about water in the previous verses. Is it Aditi? The context suggests that. The gods appeared following Aditi, who was assisted by dexterity which itself appeared only after Aditi. It may be this Aditi under the influence of Dakṣa that is now figured as water.

56. We do not know the background for this imagery. We do not have the real philosophical doctrines in any form; we have only the poetry of the time, which had the philosophical background. In the *Upaniṣads*, even in the *Āraṇyakas*, we have some definite information about the philosophy of the times. It may also be that the water is the space with specific directions like north and south and up and down. That is what figures as the *Antarikṣa loka* (the atmospheric region) of the *Ṛgveda*. The gods stood in that atmospheric region which is the water even according to the *Ṛgveda*. What

is given as the earth in the fourth verse is not the solid earth, but only the position at the bottom of the receptacle with its mouth open upwards. The division of space into the solid earth and the watery atmosphere and the illuminated heaven came at a later stage. For that we have the dust produced from the activity of the gods. The process may be something like this. First there was the partition of the Absolute (what was like unreal) into a reality, as a receptacle. There was spatial extension (*Āśā*). Then there was the assumption of form and mass, which resulted in the production of directions like north and south. This state is what is called Aditi and there was the capacity for evolution, which produced further formations (Aditi). This further evolution stage is what is termed water (*Salila*). The gods, the manifestations of that capacity to evolve, arose after Aditi and they started their activity in this water.

vii

57. When, O gods, you expanded the worlds, like Yatis, then you brought out the sun that was hidden in the ocean.

58. When there was a single expanse, then there was no sun to brighten up the world. It was when the three worlds were distinguished as the earth and the atmosphere and the heaven, that there was the sun in the heavenly region, and that sun, that was till then hidden in the waters, the vast expanse of space, became solidified and was brought out by the gods.

viii

59. (*a*) There were eight sons born from around the body of Aditi.

The term Āditya or sons of Aditi is used with reference to the gods. In later literature, even including the *Upaniṣad*, there are twelve Ādityas. But in the *Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa*, only eight are mentioned, Mitra, Varuṇa, Dhātā, Aryaman, Aṁśa, Bhaga, Vivasvat, Āditya. We do not know this last one who is mentioned only as the son of Aditi and not by any name. The *Ṛgveda* mentions six of them as Ādityas, Mitra, Aryaman, Bhaga, Varuṇa, Dakṣa and Aṁśa. Dakṣa is not in the list of the *Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa*, and Dhātā, Indra and Vivasvat are not mentioned in the *Ṛgveda* in the place where there is an enumeration of the Ādityas. That there were eight sons of Aditi is testified by the *Atharvaveda*.

60. (*b*) Of them Aditi approached the gods along with seven and the eighth Mārtāṇḍa, she threw around.

There is considerable difficulty in deciding the number of Ādityas, the sons of Aditi. It is not of much importance here in this context. All that is wanted in the context is that besides the gods in general who appeared after the advent of Aditi there arose from Aditi eight specific gods also. Among them only seven went up to the gods, the eighth being Mārtāṇḍa who was thrown around. The word Mārtāṇḍa appears only in one place outside this context in the *Ṛgveda* and that occurrence does not help us in deciding who this Mārtāṇḍa is. In later literature, Mārtāṇḍa is the sun himself. But terms like Savitar and Sūrya along with many other names became synonyms of the sun in later Sanskrit.

ix

61. With the seven of the eight sons, Aditi went to the prior period of the history of man. Later, she brought forward the Mārtāṇḍa for the purpose of birth and death.

This is more or less an elaboration of what was said in the previous verse. There were eight sons; seven of them remained along with the gods. The eighth son was not included among them; he was thrown out. It is only the seven that remained in the prior period of the history of man, the period when there were only the gods. But in the later period there was birth and death. Mārtāṇḍa, the eighth son, was brought up to enable man to calculate the deaths and births. It is Mārtāṇḍa who causes the division of time into days and months and years. Man is born, lives for a hundred years and then he dies. This is determined by Mārtāṇḍa, the eighth son.

62. In this poem there is a description of the progress in the evolution of the universe from the original, primal stage into its fully developed stage of the world. It should be taken with its limitations that it is not a clear description of the events; it is only a poet's presentation of the facts.

63. It is Brahmaṇas pati or Bṛhaspati, the great poet, who first manifested the primal forces in the universe which led to the further diversification and evolution. In the absolute primal stage, there is nothing that can be called space. Space is the substrate for the evolved world, and when there is no force even to start the evolution, there is no possibility of space coming into existence. So, there arose space, bottom and top, the cardinal directions, with the production of the three-fold division of the world into earth, atmosphere and heaven, well known in the Vedas. The power for the evolution of living beings arose. Eight gods came into existence of whom seven remained in the ancient state of affairs, while one became the agent for the determination of the period of man's life between his birth and his death.

64. There are various poems in the *Ṛgveda* where there is a description of the evolution of the world from its primal stage to its final position. This is one of them. Others will be added in this book, which will form the closing chapter. They have to be compared with one another. It shows that even in that early stage in the development of Indian civilization, people held different views about how the world arose. That does not mean that there were conflicts and that there were attempts to uphold one and to suppress the others.

They all developed among the thinking people. There was only a difference in view and never a conflict. They allowed variety and tolerated the differences.

65. What is specially noteworthy is that there is no Supreme God as creator. In the case of Yama, Manu and the Aṅgirases it is noted that there was no Supreme God to give them the teaching. Their wisdom, their illumination, came from within. That is what every man can receive in proper time. There is no God; nor is there " One Man ", chosen as the vehicle for God to teach humanity. Man teaches himself; man learns for himself. The world evolves from within; what appeared as non-existent became manifest through the evolution by its own internal forces. The forces within the universe worked and there was evolution. The law of the evolution is also from within the universe. The pace, the direction, the method and everything connected with the evolution of the world were determined from within. This special feature will be noted in all the poems where there is a description of the course of evolution of the differentiated world from the primal stage.

66. I take both the poems as a unit. There is something common between the two. Bṛhaspati is connected with the beginning of the evolution in the world. Bṛhaspati is the great poet, the singer of songs about the truth of the world, which brought light to humanity when that light was concealed behind the barrier on account of ignorance. This is what is meant by the first verse in both the poems. In the second poem, there is an introductory verse before the actual theme is taken up. In one there is the description of the evolution and in the other there is a difference drawn between one who can know and who has known and another who cannot know and who has not known.

67. One cannot miss the point of agreement between the first verse in the first of the two poems described just above

and the doctrine which Bhartṛhari developed in his *Vākyapadīya* which begins with the statement about the Reality called language, the Brahman, without a beginning and without an end, free from mutations; it is this that transforms itself and becomes the ground for the evolution of the world. The doctrine of *Śabda Brahman* (Language as *Brahman*) in the *Tāntric* school also goes back to the system of thought represented by these two poems in the *Ṛgveda.* It would be found that practically all the various currents of thought found in later Indian philosophy can be traced to the various poems in the *Ṛgveda* where there must have been some systematic philosophy as the back-ground. They are taken up for consideration in this book.

68. One of the systems of thought current in ancient India is called the Cārvāka school. It is also spoken of as the school founded by Bṛhaspati. We do not know what the cardinal points in the school of thought have been. We have no authoritative text on the subject. We know about the doctrines only as they are taken up for criticism in the texts bearing on the other systems of thought in India. The only place where there is a positive handling of the system as a complete whole is found in the *Sarva-darśana-saṅgraha* of Mādhavācārya, the work known as the " Compendium of all schools of thought ". The book starts with a fairly elaborate treatment of the cardinal doctrines of the system of the Cārvākas.

69. There are two schools of thought; one school stood for the happiness of man in this world while the other school stood for securing happiness after death, some transcendental happiness which excels the happiness that man can possibly secure in this world during his life-time. Even in the first school there are two sub-schools. In one, life in this world is not at all suffering; there is happiness. There is nothing outside and beyond of life. The other sub-school holds that what is known as death is not the final end of life;

there is a beyond and man can have happiness even there as a continuation of the happiness which he enjoyed during life, perhaps something better than what was available during life. The Mīmāṁsā school holds this view. If there is suffering, the means for escape is also here. There is no emphasis on the suffering aspect in life, so far as the Mīmāṁsā system is concerned.

70. There is the second school in which suffering is taken as the starting point for undertaking an investigation of the truth about the world. It may be only a philosopher's suffering and not an investigation into means for eradicating the ordinary sufferings of people in general. Yet there is a transcendental happiness which is available only when some sort of dissociation is effected between body and soul. It may be only a subjective dissociation, in the state of what is called *Jīvanmukti* (release even during life). In that state the association between the body and the soul is only an accident in which the person has no interest, which he ignores. There is an implication in this system that a full life and a full happiness cannot go together. The body need not objectively drop off; there must be a subjective cessation of the contact between the body and the soul.

71. Then there are systems of thought in which life and its implications form the sole topic for consideration. Man lives and the business of man, the interest of man, is only to see how he can have a happy life. There is nothing that can be called a transcendental happiness, what surpasses everything that one can secure during life. The opening passage in Mādhavācārya's *Śarva-darśana-saṅgraha* is worth quoting in this context. "The generality of men, according to the systems of thought relating to national organisation and enjoyment in life (*Artha Śāstra* and *Kāma Śāstra*) regard wealth and human cravings as the only goals to be kept in life; they deny the existence of any matter relating to a world beyond."

72. Neither according to the evidence of the text nor according to the evidence of the state of affairs, did the mind of man worry much about what would happen after death. There must have been the few who thought about the problem, and when in the *Kaṭhopaniṣad* it is said that the boy, Naciketas, asked for information about what would happen to man after death, disregarding the offers of wealth and luxury, that represents only the currents of thought among the few and it is not a national trait, not a facet in the national genius. Even in the later texts it is definitely said that the problems dealt with in the texts relating to the future of man after death and a transcendental happiness have an interest only for the scholars (*Paṇḍitas*) and not for the general public (*Pāmaras*). In the *Purāṇas* including the *Itihāsas* (Epic tales and ancient lore), they speak of only the three values in life, the *Trivarga*, consisting of Law, Acquisition and Enjoyment (*Dharma*, *Artha* and *Kāma*). What is called the four-fold values (*Puruṣārtha-catuṣṭaya*) with final release (Mokṣa) as the fourth and as the supreme goal, is a later phenomenon in the thought current of India so far as the generality of the people is concerned.

73. Can this Bṛhaspati be the originator of that system of thought in the country which is known as the Cārvāka system? I do not want to stretch my imagination too much, and at the same time I do not propose to conceal my views. I notice a difference between Manu and Bṛhaspati on one side and Yama and Aṅgiras on the other side. Yama and the Aṅgirases are in the heaven. Manu is not found to have any connection with heaven, and this is the case with Bṛhaspati also. It is true that like the Aṅgirases, Bṛhaspati too is closely related to Indra in his exploits of killing Vala and recovering the light. But, after winning the light, Bṛhaspati is found to have remained on the earth and is worshipped as a god on the earthly region. The Aṅgirases, though

not gods, are in the heaven along with Yama and the gods and along with those who had departed from this earth, occasionally coming to the world to receive the oblations offered to them by those who remain behind on the earth. It may be that Bṛhaspati was content with the happiness on the earth while the Aṅgirases, though engaged in the same mission, went to the other world. I do not want to elaborate the point beyond this suggestion.

74. We do not know of another Bṛhaspati in the Indian tradition, and the one Bṛhaspati whom we know in later times has become the teacher of the gods, and it is the same Bṛhaspati who is the originator of the Cārvāka system. We shall not miss the significance of this identification. I wonder whether a similar identification of such a great teacher in religion with the originator of the most materialistic way of thinking about the problems of life, is possible among any other nation. Perhaps the opposition to the Cārvāka system, just like the opposition to the Buddhistic thought in India, is a later development when the Cārvāka system, like the Buddhistic thought, took up new forms of thought. The problem is very interesting which must be looked into in greater detail.

III. ŚUNAḤŚEPA

1. There are two poets in the *Ṛgveda* who are of special interest. Each of them represents a philosophy. They are historical poets of the *Ṛgvedic* times and their poems form an important contribution to the *Ṛgvedic* collection. They are in communion with the gods in their intuition; but other poets do not mention them as actively engaged in association with the gods for winning light or instituting the rituals. Later traditions describe them as recipients of favours and protection from dangers. These two poets are Dīrghatamas and Śunaḥśepa.

2. Śunaḥśepa was the son of a poor Brahmin. King Hariścandra had promised to offer his son to the mighty God Varuṇa, if through the grace of that god, he would be favoured with a son. The son was born; but the king put off the offering and at a certain stage when the boy had grown up, he even departed from the house and the king could not carry out his promise to Varuṇa. The king began to suffer from dropsy. It was decided that he would offer a Brahmin boy in the place of his own son who was a Kṣatriya. The father of Śunaḥśepa, Ajīgarta by name, was willing to sell one of the three sons he had, so that he could maintain the other two boys with the prices that he would receive; the king purchased the boy for offering to Varuṇa. The boy was brought to the king and he was tied to a post for being offered to Varuṇa. In that precarious state of utter helplessness, Śunaḥśepa began to pray to the various gods for protection from that imminent death. The gods heard his

supplications and saved him from the stake. It is this story that later developed into the story of Hariścandra who was compelled to sell his queen and his son and at last himself, to satisfy the promise that he had made to Viśvāmitra about the gift sufficient at the termination of the grand ritual of Rājasūya. The son died in the end and in that condition the three met, and the gods also came there to congratulate Hariścandra for his truthfulness and for enduring all such sufferings to keep up his truth ; they all went to heaven. This story is told in the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*.

3. The story of Śunaḥśepa is found in the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*. In the *Ṛgveda* itself there is little indication of the story. In the beginning Śunaḥśepa expresses his anxiety to meet his father and mother. There are also references to his being bound down by ropes. He implores Varuṇa to loosen the ropes that had been bound round him. He wants that his life be prolonged. All these references indicate something like his having been bound down so that he may be killed. According to the story, Śunaḥśepa was a very little boy; I am not sure if he could be the poet to compose such grand poems. If the story narrated about Śunaḥśepa in the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* has a basis, then Śunaḥśepa is only a character in the story and the real poet is someone else. That poet can put poetry even into the mouth of a little boy. I feel that Śunaḥśepa is the poet and that the story grew up later in the *Brāhmaṇa* period, based on some of the references in the poem. There are seven poems assigned to Śunaḥśepa in the first Book; there is another poem in the ninth Book assigned so Śunaḥśepa.

4. In the poem the name of Śunaḥśepa comes as the person who makes the prayers for being released from the bondages of the ropes. The reference to Śunaḥśepa's bondage and to his release is found in a poem by Kumāra of the Atri family; the poem is assigned alternatively to Vṛṣa,

son of Jana, and they are both given, alternatively, as joint authors of the poem. This is in the fifth Book, and it is certain that the events in the first Book are known to the poets of the fifth Book. So, the poem must be in one of the earlier strata of the *Ṛgveda* period.

i, ii

5. Śunaḥśepa starts his poem with a question which god among the immortals he should select whose beautiful name could be contemplated, so that he may be restored to Aditi, so that he might see the father and the mother. The second verse gives the reply that it is the name of Agni, the first, among the immortals whose beautiful name he may contemplate. It is also said that it is Agni who would restore him to Aditi and that in this way he would be able to see his father and mother.

6. Aditi is a goddess; she is the mother of some of the gods. In the poem of Bṛhaspati relating to creation and the evolution of the world, it is said that Dakṣa was born of Aditi and that Aditi on her part was born from Dakṣa. Aditi means " freedom " ; the word is from the root *Dā* (to bind), with the negative particle in the beginning. The word means " unbound ". What Śunaḥśepa wants is that he be restored to Aditi ; he is not asking for something that he did not have. He is asking for what he once had, but what was taken away from him. He must have been feeling within himself that naturally he is absolutely free and that some sort of disability has come down upon him, which he wants to get rid of.

7. The father must be wisdom. Dīrghatamas says that one who does not know the father cannot get at the fruit of the tree on which the wise people were drinking the honey. In the poem about Yama there is reference to some tree on which Yama was enjoying life with the gods; here also there

is mention of father. That father must be wisdom. So Śunaḥśepa feels that he does not know the truth of the world; and he must also be feeling that his bondage must be due to this ignorance. If he could see the father, the wisdom, then he would be restored to his freedom, Aditi. I am not sure what the mother is. I think that it must be language, the language of the poets. Dīrghatamas refers to poetry immediately after mentioning about the dawn of wisdom in him. I can read only one meaning into the verses.

8. Śunaḥśepa wanted to become a poet recognised as a true poet, a Ṛṣi. For that he has to sit before the Altar in the assembly of learned men, what is called the *Vidatha*, during a ritual of worship, and then he has to recite the poem which he has composed. The poem must describe the gods in their true form. So he starts his poem with a query which god he may select for description so that he would be recognised as a true poet, so that he would be accepted as having attained wisdom and also the ability to put that wisdom into proper poetic language ; in that case, he would also be absolutely free. Then he decides to select Agni the first, for the purpose. He is sitting in front of the Fire and so he says that whatever be the theme of his poem, he must start with a reference to Agni. This may be compared with the starting portion in the poem of Dīrghatamas where he describes how he attained supreme wisdom.

iii—v

9. After referring to Agni the first, like Dīrghatamas, he turns on to the Sun-God, Savitar. That is what Dīrghatamas also does. He refers to Agni and Savitar in the first verse. He says then that at that moment he was able to have a vision of the lord of the people, Viśpati; the same word occurs also in the poem about Yama where there is a reference to wisdom and the tree. So the father in this latter poem

is Viśpati, who is mentioned by Dīrghatamas also as having been seen after the contemplation of Agni and Savitar. Dīrghatamas too uses the word, "Lord of all—*ino viśvasya*" in the place of Viśpati; both mean the same. These parallels should not be ignored when we interpret the poem of Śunaḥśepa.

10. After this preliminary, Śunaḥśepa starts his poem on Varuṇa and the rest of the poem is about Varuṇa; it is here that we find his philosophy, his approach to the problems of life. The first five verses are only of a preliminary nature. In the first two verses he says that his purpose is to show that he has attained to wisdom and language to express the truth that is known (father and mother). He also announces that he has attained full freedom. When he sings about bondage in life it was what he was feeling prior to the dawning of wisdom. Dīrghatamas also mentions the state of his mind prior to the attainment of wisdom.

vi, vii

11. After a reference to Varuṇa and his greatness, he says that Varuṇa has planted a tree with its roots above and its branches growing downwards. This is what is found in the *Kaṭhopaniṣad*; perhaps when there is the mention of a change in the front and back of the chariot in the poem about Yama and the tree, there is some idea behind it similar to the tree imagery.

12. Śunaḥśepa says that even the birds flying high up in the sky cannot reach up to the height of his domain, nor do so the waters that flow mightily, nor the winds that blow furiously. It is such a mighty god that he was thinking of for his description. Then he says that such a mighty god has placed the body of the tree in the bottomless space, king Varuṇa with his holy powers. Its roots were on the top and the tree was growing downwards. This is a mysterious phenomenon, and yet the clue to understanding it was within himself and it is within everybody. This conception of the world being

like a tree in an inverted position is a very old one; in the poem of Bṛhaspati relating to the growth of the world there is the term *Uttānapada*, "Having the feet upwards." That may correspond to this tree with the roots (*Pada*) upwards.

13. What is this growth from above? Above is the region of light. There is relation between light and wisdom. If the whole of the *Ṛgveda* is properly analysed, it will be found that there is correspondence between wisdom and light and poetry and that there is also the correspondence between water and action and offerings. If the world is thought of as a tree, then the root of the tree is in the highest region, the region of light, wisdom and poetry. Within man there is the clue to solve this mystery about the world. Here also we find some trace, at the beginning, of the theory of *Śabda* (language) being the source of the world. Light is the material manifestation, wisdom is the subjective manifestation and language is the expression; the three go together. They are not separate things; they are only different aspects of the same truth. There are theories about the world that it goes back on the original matter (light) or on primal sentience (Brahman) or on primal language (Nāda-Brahman). Bṛhaspati emphasised the language aspect when he said in the poem on wisdom that people knew the names for spreading out. Śunaḥśepa holds wisdom itself as the original source of the world. Varuṇa is the foremost god of wisdom. Varuṇa placed the tree with its roots above and growth downwards. That means that the world, planted by wisdom, started from light, the primal matter, and grew into action and matter of the evolved world. To understand this source, one has to look into his own heart.

viii

14. After planting the tree of the world, which corresponds to "what has its feet upwards" (*Uttānapada*) of

Bṛhaspati, there Varuṇa made the path for the sun to traverse and also steps where there were no steps for the feet to be placed. Thereafter he has become one who denounces those who strike at his heart.

15. There is some difficulty in interpreting the passage. Sāyaṇa says that Śunaḥśepa is praying to Varuṇa to talk ill (*Apavaktar*) of one who hurts Śunaḥśepa's own heart (*Hṛdayāvidhaḥ*). This has little relevency in the context. In modern interpretation, Varuṇa is spoken of as throwing out the words that may wound the heart, or as ordering away what wounds the heart. This is not much different from what Sāyaṇa has to say. I cannot understand why there should be such a prayer or statement at this point against enemies. *Apavaktar* is one who speaks (*Vaktar*) down or away (*Apa*). That is one who denounces or one who talks in a way different from the ordinary. There is no doubt that this is said with reference to Varuṇa. *Hṛdayāvidh* is one who strikes (*Vidh*) against the heart (*Hṛdaya*). The construction of the path for the sun to traverse and steps for placing the feet where there were no such steps, correspond to the evolution of the cardinal points in the poem of Bṛhaspati relating to the birth of the gods. I think that the idea is that Varuṇa, after such exhibition of his powers, will simply ignore those who try to wound the heart of Varuṇa by denying him such powers. It is certainly not the enemies of Śunaḥśepa that are referred to in this context. He is glorifying Varuṇa's powers and this is said against those who do not accept Varuṇa as so very powerful.

ix—xi

16. In the next verse there is another statement of the greatness of Varuṇa and also a prayer for his good heart. Śunaḥśepa also requests Varuṇa to remove the evil-doer or sin and asks for the pardon of any sin that he might have committed. This is only a sequel to the greatness of Varuṇa

and has little relation to the philosophy which Śunaḥśepa has to expound. In the following verse Śunaḥśepa asks where the stars go by day time which were set high during the night. He also says that when there are the stars also at night, the moon too comes intensely bright; this shows the ordinance of Varuṇa which no one can stand against. I think that this statement has reference to the appearance of the sun. When the sun is there, other luminaries do not appear, and the stars and the very brilliant moon appear only at night when there is no sun shining. Śunaḥśepa asks for the continuation of his life span, with no part of it being stolen away. The indication is that if Varuṇa does not pardon the sins of men, he is able to terminate the life span of a man long before its ordained length.

xii

17. At this stage there is again some philosophical idea; Śunaḥśepa says that day and night people talk so many things to him; but the clue to the mystery of the world tells the truth from within his heart. Then Śunaḥśepa invokes Varuṇa, being caught, to let us free. I am not sure what the people had been talking to him. It may be that there is no Varuṇa or that Varuṇa is nobody and need not be cared for. But in his own heart there is the feeling about the glories of Varuṇa, who is real. In an earlier passage Śunaḥśepa said that the clue to understand the mystery of the world-tree is placed within us. When he used the first-personal pronoun in the plural, he must be including the audience too, before whom he is reciting the poem. People may be saying that there is nothing to worry about in the world, that there is nothing like a bondage. But he was feeling such a bondage in his heart and he is praying to Varuṇa to show the path for him to see the light of wisdom and secure relief from that bondage. The significance of the reference in a previous

verse to the path constructed by Varuṇa for the sun to traverse is now made clear when he says that he wanted light and wisdom through the grace of Varuṇa so that he might be free from the bondages in life which he was feeling in his heart.

xiii—xv

18. He again speaks of his being bound down to the three stakes. It need not mean that he was actually tied up with ropes on to three stakes to be offered to Varuṇa. His experience in life tells him that his condition is as precarious as the condition of an animal tied to the stake to be offered to the gods during a ritual of worship. He asks Varuṇa to move off this bondage, to loosen the ropes; Varuṇa knows what it all means and no one can stand against him in his actions. He also asks Varuṇa to loosen the sins that he might have committed. He speaks of the three ropes, one above, one in the middle and one below. He wants Varuṇa to loosen all the three, upwards, sideways and downwards, so that he might be free from all sins and remain within the ordinances of Varuṇa so that he might have Aditi, freedom. It must be noted that Śunaḥśepa started his poem with a desire to be restored to Aditi and now he says that what he wanted was that he might remain within the ordinances of Varuṇa and be restored to freedom. Real freedom for man is only when he is able to remain within the ordinances of Varuṇa.

19. When Varuṇa erected the tree in the bottomless space with its roots above and with its growth downwards, when he constructed the path for the sun to traverse and when he also made the steps for men to place their feet where there were no such steps, he had only fixed the rules of right life; he wanted the grace of Varuṇa so that he might see the light from within his own heart, so that he could be released from the bondages and be restored to freedom. There is an element of surrender to the great God Varuṇa

and yet it is found that Śunaḥśepa knows that the real illumination should come from his own heart. There are forces that prevent the illumination to come out from the heart and they form the bondages; he wants Varuṇa to remove those bondages from him, so that he could become free with the illumination from his own heart. The light and the freedom are not gifts from Varuṇa which he did not himself possess. What he wants is to be restored to freedom, to allow the illumination from within to come out. Even the great god can only help man; he cannot make gifts to man if man does not have them as his own.

20. Following this poem of fifteen verses, there is yet another of twenty-one verses. Śunaḥśepa prays to Varuṇa that if he violates the ordinances of Varuṇa, he may not be handed over to the enemies. He has various wishes flying about like birds flocking to their abodes, searching for what is good for him. He uses the singular sometimes and sometimes he uses the plural when he speaks of himself or himself along with the audience. He speaks of Varuṇa and his great powers, his omniscience and his wide-encompassing supervision of the affairs of the world. He knows everything that is a mystery, that is done already or that will be done. Śunaḥśepa asks for his guidance along proper paths and for enabling him to cross through the entire span of his life without being stopped in the middle. Varuṇa has his spies to look into what things take place in the world. Nothing does him any harm. Śunaḥśepa's heart proceeds towards Varuṇa like cows going to the pasture. He closes the poem with a prayer that the three ropes, above, in the middle and below, may be loosened upwards, sideways and downwards. This three-fold removal of the ropes in three directions is mentioned twice by Śunaḥśepa, in the closing verses of the two poems.

21. After that we have many poems in the *Ṛgveda* assigned to Śunaḥśepa; in the immediately following two

poems, Śunaḥśepa sings about Agni and the gods in general. Then in another he starts with songs about Indra and passes on to the praise of the implements used in the ritual for pressing the Soma. This is followed by a poem on Indra and another in which he sings about Indra, the Aśvins and the Dawn in succession. Indra is the chief theme and the Aśvins and the Dawn come in only at the end in three concluding verses, out of twenty-two. These later poems have little importance in the context of studying the philosophy of the *Ṛgveda*. They deal with Indra and the offering of Soma, as the main topic.

22. We find some philosophy of an original nature in the first two poems addressed to Varuṇa. Śunaḥśepa feels that he is in truth a free individual and at the same time he is feeling some bondage. The bondage is not inherent in him; it is something external to him and that is due to his sins, actions in violation of the ordinances of Varuṇa. Varuṇa does not create any law nor does he reward and punish at his will. Varuṇa can guide Śunaḥśepa and can give illumination to him, which is within himself. When Śunaḥśepa says that he is finding himself in bondage, tied on all round, above, in the middle and below, like an animal tied to a stake and that he finds himself in a very precarious condition, in a state of despondency, it does not mean that he is a pessimist, that he finds nothing that is good in the world. He does not want to end his life of suffering so that he can close down his suffering thereby; there is no hint also that there is another region and another condition outside of life and of this world where he can have real happiness. He knows that happiness is in this life and in this world and he wants to continue his life in this world. Bondage and sufferings are accidents in this life; freedom and light are the realities of life. He is looking deep into his own heart for the illumination, the clue to the mystery of the world lying hidden there. The bondage

is due to the lack of understanding about the real nature of this world which looks like a mystery to others. It is true that in the poems there is an emphasis on the side of sins and pardons, and also on fears about what his enemies might do against him. But these sentiments must be read along with the conviction about freedom being the essence of life, which is indicated by his prayer that he may be restored to Aditi or freedom. He does not want freedom to be granted to him which he did not have. He wants only a restoration to him of what was his own. What is experienced as bondage and suffering is only ignorance, and the light is really within man and can come out in full illumination, when this ignorance is removed.

23. The whole poem has an air of supplication for pardon made by a criminal who is caught by the king and placed in confinement. He admits his sin and asks for pardon. Along with this there is also the tone of his being free from any guilt in reality. He did not in truth commit anything wrong. He is a free citizen and he deserves to be restored to his freedom, after pardon for any sin that he might have committed without his knowledge and without any intention on his part. He does not feel that he is finding himself in a country where he cannot get on and that he wants to get out of it where alone he can be free and happy.

24. What is really important in the poem from a philosophical point of view is not the tone of despondency, the feeling of bondage and suffering, the sense of possible guilt and the eagerness for pardon. What is important is what is given in the beginning, the conviction that freedom is his nature and that what he wants is to be restored to that freedom, and also the indication that the clue to solve the mystery is within the heart of man. The importance of wisdom, designated by " father " also must be taken note of. Light, wisdom and freedom are what lie at the base of the philosophy

represented by Śunaḥśepa. Among the three aspects, light, wisdom and poetry, my own impression is that Śunaḥśepa's philosophy lays emphasis on the aspect of light; there is no difference among the three. It is Agni, the first, who can restore Śunaḥśepa to freedom (Aditi) and enable him to see his father and mother (Wisdom and poetry). Varuṇa made a path for the sun. There is the clue to the solution of the world's mystery lying hidden within the heart itself.

25. In Śunaḥśepa's philosophy I see the start of the *Bhakti* school. In *Bhakti* or Devotion to God, there is an element of surrender on the part of the devotee to the superior God. There is also an element of the inability of the devotee to get on without the protection of God. There are many gods who are adored by the various poets with their songs. There are other poets also who adore Varuṇa. But in them we do not see that tone of a surrender to the superior God. The other gods are more or less companions of the poets; they may be superior companions. But there is no element of surrender to such a superior companion. Yama never surrenders himself to the will of Varuṇa, both of them being more or less equal companions in heaven. Manu has not surrendered himself to any God. The Aṅgirases and the other poets who are associated with Indra in killing Vala and in the recovery of the cows stolen by the Paṇis and hidden in the cave behind the mountains moved with Indra more or less as equals. Many of the poets are associated with Agni and Maruts and the Aśvins. There are various prayers to the Aśvins by the poets for protection against dangers and ailments. But not in one of them do we find any tone of helplessness and surrender. There is the story of Trita who had fallen into a well through the treachery of his companions and who could not get out of it; even in that pitiable condition we do not find the same tone of despondency in his prayers to the various gods.

26. Trita says that he sang songs on prior occasions and asks to see that sufferings may not take hold of him like a wolf catching an antelope thirsty for water. He talks about his sufferings; but there is nothing that can be called a wailing of a suppliant. Kūrma, son of Gṛtsamada (Gṛtsamada himself is given as the alternative poet) asks Varuṇa to ward off fears and he also asks him not to catch hold of him; he also requests Varuṇa to loosen the ropes like the ropes round a calf's neck. Atri asks Varuṇa to loosen all the sins and enable him to remain in the ordinance of Varuṇa. Vasiṣṭha says that poets are talking about Varuṇa's anger to him, and asks Varuṇa to tell him what sin he has committed. There is a great difference in the general tone of the supplications of Śunaḥśepa and the prayers of the other poets to Varuṇa.

27. Śunaḥśepa must have been a very ancient poet. His poems of which something has been said just before must have been known to the poets of the fifth Book. Kumāra of the Atri family asks Agni to remove the ropes that were binding him down as was done in the case of Śunaḥśepa who was tied on to a stake. Here it is specifically stated that Śunaḥśepa was tied on to a stake on which animals to be offered to the gods are tied up at the rituals, that is, to a *yūpa*. Here it is said that Śunaḥśepa had been tied on to a thousand stakes. Śunaḥśepa himself says that he was bound down to three stakes. Here it is also not said that it was Varuṇa who protected Śunaḥśepa from the binding ropes. The prayer here is to Agni and the impression is that it was Agni who must have saved Śunaḥśepa. Śunaḥśepa himself says that he was tied down to three stakes. Sāyaṇa interprets it as meaning that he was tied to the post in three places and this is what is found later also when Śunaḥśepa asks Varuṇa to loosen the ropes on the top, in the middle and at the bottom, upwards, sideways and downwards respectively; this he says twice.

In the case of the hundred stakes, Sāyaṇa says that the stake had a number of forms.

28. The prayers of Śunaḥśepa had created a story also around Śunaḥśepa and this story must have become a common property among the people by the time the poem in the fifth Book was composed. I do not know the meaning of the word Śunaḥśepa, how such a name was given to him. I do not think a father would have given such a name to his son, the word meaning "dog's tail". There is the name Parucchepa given to another poet in the *Ṛgveda*, whose poetry is one of the sweetest and most artistic in the whole range of *Ṛgvedic* poetry. The *Brāhmaṇas* have some story about Parucchepa as a name of Indra. The word may mean "one having a tail at every joint". This name Śunaḥśepa must have been given to him by others on account of some feature in his character. Dog's tail remains crooked and is never straight. Either the word must mean "one who cannot be altered in his views" or "one who is always crooked in his ways". Perhaps it is because of his surrender to Varuṇa, against the usual practice of the other poets regarding their relation to the gods, that he acquired this name. His two brothers, according to the story of purchase by the king, have names having the same meaning, Śunaḥpuccha and Śunolāṅgūla. The story is that his real name was Śunaḥśepa and that when he was saved from the stake, he was adopted by Viśvāmitra as his son, with the name Devarāta (God's gift). This must be because he was saved by the gods from the stake. His name has no relation to his philosophy and I do not take up the point.

29. Śunaḥśepa is really a gifted poet. There are certain devices adopted by him in his poetry, which add some artistic beauty to his compositions. He starts the verses in some of his poems with the same words. He gives a refrain passage as the second half of the various verses in the whole poem. He changes the metre within the poem.

30. The tone in the two poems which I have selected out of his seven poems for consideration, is entirely different from what we find in the others. There is a seriousness, some sense of moral elevation, which we do not find in the others. In the others there are certain artistic touches, which a good poet tries to introduce into his compositions. Here the beauty of the poetry is entirely in its high tone. It is not the grandeur of Varuṇa that brings about this change in tone. There are other poems about Varuṇa by others; we do not find the same tone in them. It is only in one of the poems of Vasiṣṭha about Varuṇa that we find the same height of moral tone. There Vasiṣṭha asks Varuṇa what sin there is in him so that Varuṇa should try to kill Vasiṣṭha, who was one of Varuṇa's worshippers. The whole of that poem has the same tone as the first two poems of Śunaḥśepa which are about Varuṇa.

31. Neither these two poems about Varuṇa, nor the other poems about other gods, can be the composition of a very young boy in great distress. Perhaps a great poet might have written some poetry about Śunaḥśepa and these poems were put into the mouth of Śunaḥśepa as a boy. But I prefer to take the poem as the work of Śunaḥśepa himself. The story came later.

32. He must have been a great poet; later he became a great philosopher also. It was suffering that roused up his philosophical genius. Why should there be this suffering in life? Why should there be this sense of bondage, this loss of freedom in man? Suffering is the root of philosophy. A philosopher has his own suffering and philosophy shows him the way out of that suffering. It is this philosophy of suffering that is found in this poem. It does not mean that when he composed the poem, he was still in a state of despondency. The beginning of the poem shows his state of mind; he had been restored to freedom and he had been able to see his father

and mother, wisdom and poetic language. So in the assembly of the learned people he announces that it is the contemplation of Agni, the first, that enabled him to be restored to freedom and to see his father and mother. It is in the middle of the poem that he describes his state of mind in suffering and he closes his poetry also with the same air of calmness when he had been restored to freedom, freedom from suffering.

33. Here also we find the close relation between philosophy and ritualism. The Agni (fire) who had restored him to his freedom and who had enabled him to see the father and the mother, must be the Agni in the Altar at the time of the ritual of worship. Philosophy is not a revolt against ritualism; it is the outcome of ritualism. In the whole of the two poems about Varuṇa, we see traces of the ritualistic environment in which he was reciting the poem. He mentions the ritual of worship (*Yajña*) and offerings (*Havis*) in the first poem. There is also a reference to the invoker (*Hotar*) in the second of the two poems taken up for study here. These references show that the poem had a direct relation to the rituals and that they are not the compositions of a boy tied on to the stake to be offered to Varuṇa.

IV. YAMA

1. It is very difficult to say whether Yama is to be treated as a man or as a god in the Veda. There is no doubt that he was once a mortal and that he later found his way to the other world. The great importance that I attach to Yama is that he is mentioned as the first to find out the Path for " Us ", the humanity; in this sense he is to be recognised as one among the founders of a religion. The purpose of religion is to show the Path from this world of ordinary life to a region of eternal bliss without any suffering; it may be the region of God as is the case in almost all the religions of the world. A person becomes able to have a direct communion with God and he receives the instructions from God for the guidance of humanity; that person reveals the truth and the law of moral life contained in the instructions received from God, to humanity. Thus, that person becomes the medium between God and man; even between that person and humanity, there are mediums found in a large number of religions. Thus there were the disciples of Buddha; the tradition is that the three parts of the Buddhistic scripture known as the *Tipiṭaka*, containing the *Vinaya*, the *Sutta* and the *Abhidhamma*, were given out to humanity by the three disciples of Buddha, who had received the instructions from Buddha himself. Zoroaster received instructions from Ahura Mazda direct and he revealed to man the law and the truth contained in the instructions in the form of a scripture.

2. In the case of Yama, there is no mention that he had any direct communion with a Great God; the fact is

that within the *Ṛgveda* there is no god whom we can call " the Great God ". But he saw the Path all the same, as is mentioned in the *Ṛgveda* itself. There is no evidence to show that he had communicated to humanity any sort of text containing the truth that he had himself realised. There is one text coming within the Vedic literature, one of the *Upaniṣads* called the *Kaṭha*, where Yama reveals the truth about man and his final destiny and about the world. It is true that the text of that *Upaniṣad* is accepted as authoritative in regard to the nature of truth, and it is also true that it is a text containing the revelation of the truth made to a representative person as a direct disciple, by one who knew the truth and who is also mentioned as the only one who knew that truth; but it is not to be placed on a par with the *Avesta* or with the *Tipiṭaka* of Buddhists or with the Bible of the Jews and of the Christians or with the Quran of the Muslims. This *Upaniṣad* is only one among the many texts that together contain the truth about the world and about man and his destiny. Yama was not the only person who had a revelation of the truth; this is in contrast with the dogmas of other religions. According to the traditions preserved in the Vedas, Yama is only one among the many persons who had realised the truth. After Yama had found out the Path, many ancient people had gone to the region to which the Path leads humanity, and others still continue to go there along that same Path, all according to their merits.

3. He is a person who had found out the Path for the first time; yet he did not become the starting point for a system of a new religion. He went to the other world and there he continued to be a king. It does not mean that he became the sole lord of the higher regions, a " Monarch ". He might have been a ruler, but not the sole ruler. He had also become a god. So Yama is a person on the earth who became a god. It is said that one going to the other, higher

world can see there Yama the king, and also Varuṇa, the god; the text says that Varuṇa is also a king in that world along with Yama; Varuṇa is spoken of in other contexts both as a king and as an emperor. There are many places in the *Ṛgveda* where Varuṇa is spoken of as a king and also as an emperor along with Mitra. Thus when it is said that Yama reigns in the other world as a king, it does not mean that he was an autocrat without a rival, without even an equal as king. A king is only a person holding an honoured, exalted position, above the position of the other persons.

4. Here we see the genius of India. There is no " One " single person who alone has known the truth, either through an illumination from within or through a teaching imparted by God. There is no king as an autocrat without others having a similar position of honour. All persons who have acquired the necessary qualifications are assigned a similar position of honour. Yama became a leader among the persons who had departed from this world and who had gone to the other world, on account of his innate worth. He did not depose Varuṇa and Mitra who too are spoken of as kings and as emperors; nor had he to forego the position because of the previous occupants of the position. There is room for all with qualifications in this world. Similarly, knowledge is not the prerogative of any single individual. All can acquire knowledge and many have acquired it. The knowledge may be of different parts of the universe; and as for Yama, it is the Path that he knew for the first time. That Path does not exhaust the field of supreme knowledge. Yama could get on with other kings and Yama could get on with other wise persons too. He represents the genius of the nation, namely, " This, that and all "; and he does not represent the view of " only this and not that or anything else ".

5. Although Yama was a mortal, yet he does not seem to have been one among the ordinary men on the earth. His

father is spoken of as Vivasvat, and Yama is mentioned as Vaivasvata or the son of Vivasvat. His mother is mentioned as Saraṇyū, who is the daughter of the god called Tvaṣṭar, the architect, the builder. Thus both on the father's side and on the mother's side, there is an element of divinity in him. One has also to consider the meaning of the name, Yama. The word with its accent on the second syllable has the meaning of " Twin " in the *Ṛgveda*, and the word occurs in this sense, sometimes in the dual number. The name also has the same accent. The word having its accent on the first syllable has the meaning of " One who controls or restrains ". Both must be from the same root with the same meaning, " control " and the word occurs in the later Sanskrit literature in the same two senses.

6. This cannot be the original name of Yama; it must have been adopted by him or ascribed to him at a later stage on account of some notable achievement of his. There is mention of Yamī as the sister of Yama mentioned in the Vedas and it is assumed that Yama is the twin along with his sister Yamī. There is another epithet found attached to the name of Yama and that is Saṅgamana, " who brings together." There are various functions associated with different gods. Thus there is the epithet of *Yātayaj-jana*, " one who stirs up people to activity," given along with the name of Mitra. There is another function of *Niveśayan*, " putting to rest," which is associated with the Night and also other deities too like the Sun. From this point of view it is not improbable that the term Yama is applied as the name of this particular divine person on account of his being able to control the people. Buddha (the awakened) and Christ are terms applied at a later time to the founders of religions on account of their attainments, their original names being Siddhārtha and Jesus respectively. The name must have been applied to Yama on account of his own self-control (Yama) or because

he controls humanity after his great illumination of finding out the Path. We know nothing about his original name; as a matter of fact we know nothing about him prior to his attaining the great illumination.

7. Yama is Vaivasvata, son of Vivasvat. Thus in the description of the region of light, the poet speaks of the place " where lives the king, the son of Vivasvat (Vaivasvata). He is spoken of as the son of Vivasvat, who brings humanity together. " That mind of yours that has gone to Yama, the son of Vivasvat, in the far off distance "—so says another poet who speaks of one who is dead. In the same context there is mention of Yama, son of Vivasvat, from whom there is a promise of recovering the mind. Again there is the mention of the son of Vivasvat in whom the eye meets with auspicious things. Thus it would be found that he is the son of Vivasvat, and this epithet is sometimes given along with his own name, Yama, or sometimes it means Yama and is not merely an epithet of Yama. The position of Yama as the son of Vivasvat must have been so well known to the people that the poet never thought it necessary to add the name also along with this epithet. It meant none other than Yama.

8. We do not know the exact position of his father, Vivasvat in the *Ṛgveda*. There is no poem addressed to him or describing him in the whole of *Ṛgveda*. The name occurs usually with the accent on the second syllable; but there are a few occasions when the accent is found to be on the first syllable. We do not know the difference when there is such a shift of accent, as is also the case with the name Yama. The name means " what illumines ". Vivasvat is mentioned also as the father of the twin gods called the Aśvins in the *Ṛgveda*. There is a story given by the commentators in this connection how Yama and Yamī and also the twin gods called the Aśvins were born of Vivasvat. Saraṇyū was the daughter of the great architect God named Tvaṣṭar. There

is one place where the gods in general are spoken of as the progeny of Vivasvat.

9. We know the names of the father and the mother of Yama. Both of them had some divine status even at the time when the *Ṛgveda* was being composed. He must have belonged to such an ancient period that the poets knew him only as the centre of mythological stories and not as a historical person. They must have had the story of how a great person had attained the illumination of finding out the Path to the other world beyond, how he was recognised as a king there and how along that Path many people have later travelled to that other world of light and bliss and freedom.

10. Yama is not expressly stated to be a god in the *Ṛgveda*, and yet he has transcended the limitations of the mortal men. What is spoken of him is that he was a king in the other world to which people go after their death. There are two full poems relating to him. The ancient indices relate a few verses in other poems also with him. Both the poems are of great interest. In the first the poet is also given as Yama himself in the old indices. I do not know how it is. The poem starts with a request to worship Yama, a feature that is rather unlikely in a poem written by himself. We will take up the two poems, one by one, and see what we can know about Yama in the scheme of the development of religion in the country. The first of them is a fairly long poem with sixteen verses.

i

11. Serve with oblations Yama the king, the son of Vivasvat, who has from this earth below, gone to the other world, who has been able to find out the Path for the sake of the many. Here it is certain that Yama was once in this world below, and that he later was able to go to the higher regions; he was also able to find out the Path. When men

die they do not generally know what happens to them. They themselves do not know what would happen and what had happened to them; even if they knew, they have no method of communicating their destiny to the men left behind on the earth below. In the case of Yama, he knew even in advance that he was going, after his death, to the higher regions and he knew also the Path along which he would go to that destination. He was able to communicate the nature of that Path to others, the many who had been left behind.

ii

12. Yama was the first to find out the Path for us. This pasture shall not be taken away from us by any one; to that region our ancient forefathers have gone after their death. All the people who will be born will go to that region according to their merits. The poet had the recollection of many an ancestor of his having gone along that Path to that region. There was perhaps a time when people did not know whether they had a definite destiny to which they could go after their death. People must have taken death as an inevitable end, without any " further " being known. It was probably Yama who for the first time knew that there was a definite destiny for man after death, that death was not the final end of man's being. From that time onwards, there have been many men known to have reached that region along that Path. Here it is very doubtful if we can take the term " Path " as a mere track along which man has to travel. The word is perhaps used in a figurative way. The word here means the method by which one can find his way to that destiny. There are certain ways of life which alone can enable a man to go to that region; such ways of life are what are meant by the term " Path ".

13. It is religion that fixes the ways of life along which one has to proceed during his life on the earth if he is to reach

that destination. There are good ways and there are bad ways for life. Those who lead a good life, those who walk along the path of good life, go to that region. The Path to that region is also not a uniformity. Each goes to that region according to his own merits. What is actually given in the text is that those who will be born will go there according their own separate ways. There are no dogmas; there are various ways of life which men can lead, and along all such Paths man can reach his destination. It is not a declaration that there was no hope for humanity prior to the time when Yama found out the Path. What is meant here is that so far as the civilization of the people was concerned, they knew of no earlier person who had fixed the Paths along which man has to lead his life if he is to reach the destination. If others knew of other ways or if others had known the same sets of Paths prior to the discovery of the Path by Yama, there is no objection to the acceptance of such a position. So far as the Vedic people are concerned, it was Yama who gave them the teaching about the destiny beyond death and the Path to reach that destiny.

iii

14. Mātalī had been prospering there along with Kavyas. Yama prospers there along with the Aṅgirases, and Bṛhaspati with the Ṛkvans. Those whom gods enabled to prosper and those who helped the gods also to prosper—among them one party revels in Svāhā and the other in Svadhā. There are certain names in the verse which we are not able to explain satisfactorily. There is the name of an individual person given as Mātalī. In later mythology, Mātalī is the chariot-driver of Indra. But in the Vedas, there is no indication of the same person being his chariot-driver. We hear only of the horses of Indra's chariot and not the driver of his chariot. It must be some notable person who had gone to the other

region in early times, of whom the poet had some information preserved in tradition, perhaps in poetic literature that had come down to him. He is known to have been prospering in that region in the company of a group of dead ancestors called the Kavyas. Kavya is the oblation of food offered to the dead ancestors during the *śrāddha* ceremonies performed by men to propitiate the dead ancestors. Kavyas must be some group of dead people who had gone to that region, perhaps following the lead given by Yama, and enjoying the oblations so offered. Yama has his associates in this state of prosperity in the group of persons named the Aṅgirases. Aṅgiras must have been an ancient wise person who had also gone to that region, along with Yama. He must have been the helper of Yama in establishing the ways of good life which would lead men to the other region. The word occurs both in the singular number and also in the plural number. In this case, there must have been a group of persons with the chief Aṅgiras as the centre, to help Yama in fixing the ways of good life. They all went to the region, and Yama revels there along with his colleagues. The word Aṅgiras is equated with the Greek word Aggelos (pronounced Angelos), which is found in the English language as Angel. Bṛhaspati is definitely a god in the *Ṛgveda* and he is also a singer; he is a poet too, whose compositions find a place in the *Ṛgveda* collection that we have now. Ṛkvans are singers. The word is related to Ṛk or prayer.

15. The gods are already there in the higher regions and the gods are propitiated with the prayers of the poets recited by men during the great occasions of worship. In response to this, the gods also bless humanity with plenty and happiness. This sort of mutual help between men and the gods is referred to in the *Bhagavad Gītā* and also in the works of Kālidāsa. The *Gītā* says, " Honouring mutually,

may you (gods and men) attain the supreme glory." Kālidāsa also says that the king Dilīpa drew materials from the earth to propitiate the gods and gods drew things from heaven to give plenty to man, in his cultivation. Svāhā is what is given to the gods and Svadhā is what is given to the dead ancestors. They are technical terms, in use even now in rituals. Here there is an indication that it is the worship of the gods by men at the great Sacrifices that enabled men to go to that region, through the favour of the gods who were propitiated during the worship. This idea of collaboration between men and the gods is as old as the civilization of India. Man is not subordinate to the gods; just as gods help men, in the same way men help the gods also, and the gods freely accept such help. In a later stage of the development of the culture of India, Indra, the Lord of the heavens, occasionally sought the help of the kings on the earth even in his wars against the demons.

16. We do not know whether Mātalī preceded Yama to that region along with his companions called the Kavyas, or whether they all went there after Yama and the Aṅgirases. The latter seems to be the probable position. In the case of Bṛhaspati, there is some difficulty; he is already a god and is assigned a position in the terrestrial region. Singing is given as his chief characteristic. He along with others who had been singing praises of gods in sweet poetry might have already gone over to that region, and Yama might have met them all in that region when he found out the Path and went to that region, along with his colleagues, the Aṅgirases. There were gods there before Yama went to the place, and Varuṇa, the god, is expressly mentioned as one whom the person going to that region would meet along with Yama as another king.

17. Mātalī is mentioned as being associated with the persons known as Kavyas, and Kavya means the rice offerings

given to the dead ancestors by those who remain behind in the world. It is not improbable that they had been more connected with ritualism and making offerings to the gods and they must have received such an appellation on account of the offerings which they made to the gods and which they themselves received from the posterity on the earth. In the case of Bṛhaspati, it is certain that he represented the real genius of India, propitiating the gods through the art of music. Yama also adopted the method of singing. But in the latter part of the verse, all the three are put together as making Svāhā offerings to the gods. It seems that the poem is not a full one and that only some portions are available. There is nothing to connect the third verse with the first two. Now we come to quite another point and there must be some gap between the third verse and the next.

iv

18. Now the whole situation changes and we are transported to the scene of a sacrifice where Yama had gone along with the dead ancestors to accept the Soma offering. Yama is invited to take his position on the sacred grass that had been spread as a seat for him. The invitation is offered to Yama and also to his associates, the Aṅgirases and the dead ancestors. He is invoked to go to the place as led by the poems sung by the poets and he is asked to take delight in the oblations that had been offered.

19. Here Yama is definitely assigned a place along with the gods in the sacrifices where offerings are made for the gods. Not only Yama, but the dead ancestors too are given a similar place. We do not know whether the occasion is the worship of the dead ancestors, when offerings are made to such dead ancestors or whether it is a regular sacrifice where Yama too is asked to go to the place to accept the offerings. It is not definitely said in this context that the offering made is that

of Soma, which it is that the gods accept; but Soma is mentioned in a later verse. It is not also definitely said that it is an offering of any other substance that has to be given to the dead ancestors. One thing is certain; Yama is invoked to go to the places on the earth where offerings are made, and the dead ancestors are also the recipients of such offerings along with Yama. Just as gods are invoked to the place of worship with songs, here also Yama is invoked with songs recited by the poets. Yama is definitely the object of worship through songs like the gods.

V

20. Yama is invoked to go to the place of the sacrifice along with the dead ancestors known as the Aṅgirases who are spoken of as worthy of being worshipped at such sacrifices. There is another group of dead ancestors mentioned here, the Vairūpas, "those who have a variety of forms," and Yama is asked to enjoy the offerings with the latter. From the context, the invitation to go there and to enjoy the offerings must be to both the Aṅgirases and the Vairūpas, though the exact construction limits the invitation to go there, to the Aṅgirases, and the invitation to enjoy, to the Vairūpas.

21. Here, along with the invocation to Yama, there is one to the god named Vivasvat, who, as the father of Yama, is asked to sit on the same seat of grass in the sacrifice. Yajña, "sacrifice," used in this verse must be taken to mean either the sacrifices in general or some special sacrifices limited to the dead ancestors alone.

vi

22. Two groups of ancestors are praised here, our ancestors, the Aṅgirases called the Navagvas and the Atharvaṇas, the Bhṛgus. The epithet, "our ancestors", is given along with the Aṅgirases and they are spoken of as Navagvas.

The epithet, "Those who are worthy of Soma" is given along with the Atharvans. Commentators and translators do not agree in interpreting the verse. In this context, they are taken as associated with Yama. What is important in the present context is that they are spoken of as worthy of Soma. And Soma is a drink that is given to the gods, and it is not at all a national drink which men enjoyed. This shows that Yama is treated just like a god, along with his associates. There is the prayer that the poets may remain within the good thoughts of all such persons, who are worthy of sacrifices. The two epithets, "worthy of Soma" and "worthy of Sacrifice" are very significant.

vii

23. Again there is a change in the scene. Now there is an address to a dead person whose soul is asked to ascend to the region, the Path which had been found out by Yama. The soul that so departs is asked to go and to go along the Paths of the ancients, to the place where our ancient dead ancestors have gone. There, the soul is assured that he would meet Yama and Varuṇa, both kings, enjoying with Svadhā. Here there is the epithet Deva, god, used along with Varuṇa. But in these cases the construction in the *Ṛgvedic* language is such that the epithets should be taken along with both the nouns; it is true that the epithet "king" (*Rājan*) is applied to both, while the epithet "god" (*Deva*) is applied only to Varuṇa The epithet "king" is applied to Yama in other places, while the epithet "god" is not found used along with Yama in any place. Here, Yama is mentioned as king along with Varuṇa, and both are to be met in the other world.

viii

24. Here the contents of the previous verse continue. The departing soul is asked to get united with the ancestors;

who had previously gone there and also to get united with Yama. He is also asked to get united with the fruits of his actions in this world, both in the field of religious rituals and of good deeds done for others. The soul is to get himself free from all defects, and then once more he is to come over to his own home; then he is to get united with a body, full of glory.

25. In the first half, there is the term *Iṣṭāpūrta*. It has become a technical term in classical Sanskrit. In the *Ṛgveda* this is the only place where the word occurs. But the word is found freely used in the *Yajurveda*. In the *Brāhmaṇas* also, we find much of its use. The first part of the term is to be related to *Iṣṭa*, sacrifice, from the root *Yaj*. The second part is also used in Sanskrit in the sense of charities to the public. It may be equated with social service. The word is taken as a compound word. Even in the time of the *Ṛgveda*, when this word was used, it must have acquired a technical sense of good life, without the etymological sense of the compound word; that is why in the *Pada* text, the recension in which each word is given separately without being united to the neighbouring words according to the rules of euphonic combination, the word is not analysed into the two parts. That is the rule in the Vedic exegesis. If the compound word is not so analysed, the meaning of the whole compound must be taken as a unit and not etymologically. So *Iṣṭāpūrta*, though etymologically meaning " religious rituals and good deeds ", here means only a good life according to the rules of moral life. But good life consists of religious rituals and help to others. This is indicated in the compound form of the term.

26. The second half of the verse is not easy. The soul casts off the defects and goes over to his own home. There are two words used in this poem. One is *Pra-ihi*, and here it is *Ā-ihi*. The preposition *Pra* means onward and the

preposition *Ā* means hither. Since in this poem there is an address to the departing soul from the people left behind on the earth, the preposition in this context can mean only hither, towards the earth. I am not sure if, in this context, there is an indication of the theory of trans-migration, the soul returning to the earth for a new life after death. That is how I had explained the passage in the article contributed to the Cultural Heritage of India, revised edition. It may as well be that the soul is asked to return to the earth along with Yama on the occasions of worship. I have also hinted in my book on the Vedas that the passage may refer to the belief in transmigration. I have made no definite assertion. My preference is for the interpretation which I have suggested here, that the invitation to the departing soul is that he might " come hither " to the earth along with Yama to take part in the worships. Immediately after this there is the prayer that the soul might be associated with a body, full of glory. There is also the mention of casting off of all defects. All, taken together, can mean a return to the earth along with Yama to participate in the worship, of which there is clear mention in a previous verse.

ix

27. Then the evil spirit is asked to depart, to go off and to wander about, moving away from this place. A place has been prepared by the departed forefathers to this departing person. Yama has given to this person a resting place manifest with days and waters and nights. This verse, so far as the commentators and translators are concerned, is addressed to the evil spirits that may be haunting the place, where the departing soul is to start his journey. The region to which the departing soul is to go is described in another place in the *Ṛgveda.* There the region is full of light. The second half of the verse refers to this. It does not seem that

this second half is addressed to the same evil spirits. It is perhaps addressed to the people around, relatives and friends, who had assembled at the place when the body of the departing soul was being disposed of. In this case, the second part of the first half of the verse may also be addressed to the same people who had assembled at the place. If this be the case, the first part of the first half may be an address to the departing soul, so that he might go away from the place, go off and wander about in that place where the ancient forefathers have prepared the region for him. Such combinations of a direct address in the second person with a statement in the third person are not infrequent in the *Ṛgveda.* So I revise the meaning as an address to the departing soul, so far as the first quarter is concerned, and as an address to the assembled people, regarding the departing soul, so far as the remaining three quarters are concerned. The meaning would be as follows. Then the soul is asked to depart from thence, to go off, to wander about. The assembled people are told that the ancient forefathers have prepared the place for him and that Yama has also given him the resting place, where there are lights, waters and nights. In the other context where there is a graphic description of the region to which the soul goes after death, there is also a statement that there are lights, there is freedom, there is free movement; there is also reference to waters in that region.

X

28. In the following three verses, there is a reference to the two dogs that watch the gates of Yama. The first of them is addressed to the dogs. " Run with great speed, you the two dogs that are the sons of Saramā, you who have four eyes, who have variegated colours, run along the appropriate path. Then you go near to the departed ancestors, who know everything, who enjoy life in the happy company

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of Yama." The two dogs of Yama escort the departing souls to the region to which they have to go. The dogs are asked not to make any delay on the way and not to make any mistake regarding the path which they have to follow. They have to take the departing soul to the place where the ancestors are having an enjoyable time in the happy company of Yama. The two dogs of Yama are found in the *Avesta* also, where they keep watch at the gates of Yama. There is nothing to show that in the *Ṛgveda* the dogs are despised as unholy animals. Saramā, the mother of the dogs play a very prominent part in the mythology of the Vedas.

xi

29. This verse is addressed to Yama and refers to the part to be played by the two dogs in relation to the departing soul: " O Yama, the two dogs that belong to you, that are the watchers, having four eyes, the protectors on the path, having the eyes of man, hand this departing soul to them, O king; and also, give to this soul eternal happiness, free from sufferings." Here again, Yama is spoken of as a king (*Rājā*). Yama can freely allow the two dogs to take charge of this departing soul.

xii

30. The next verse seems to be addressed to the assembled people, giving them an assurance that the departing soul would be safe in the custody of the two dogs. " The two messengers of Yama, having large nose, finding contentment in taking charge of the life of the departing men, having a variegated colour, move about behind men. May the two grant us again an auspicious life so that we may see the sun, here, this day." There is a word here, *Udumbalau*. The word occurs only in this place in the *Ṛgveda*. It may mean some colour. I do not think that it has anything to

do with the word *Bala*, though that is the second part of the word. It is not to be explained on an etymological basis, since it is not divided into two parts in the *Pada* Text. If it is a colour it must be the same that was given in the verse above. There is a prayer, not directly addressed to the two dogs, that they may grant to the people an auspicious life. Perhaps the idea is that they may not take them also away, along with the departing soul. They desire to continue a life of happiness in the world, seeing the sun day by day. There are prayers in the *Ṛgveda* to have the ability granted for men to see the sun. The assembled people are assured that the departing soul would be safe in the charge of the two dogs who render safety on the path; there is also an assurance that they would take away only the departing soul and not the other people who have assembled in that place.

31. Whatever be the happiness for the souls after they depart from this world, there is absolutely no eagerness on the part of the people to abandon this life in this world and to go to that place. They are content to remain here and they go to that region as an inevitable necessity. They are happy to remain in this world and in this life, seeing the shining sun who gives them their life and the things that are needed for a happy life.

xiii—xv

32. Then three verses are addressed to the people who had assembled on the occasion. " Press down Soma for offering to Yama. Place the offering into the fire for Yama. The Sacrifice goes to Yama, indeed. The Fire well decorated, is the messenger. Place the offering consisting of ghee (melted butter) into the fire for Yama; start on. May he bind us along with the gods so that we may live a very long life. Place into the fire the offering, the best of what consists of honey, for Yama the king. May this salutation be for the

holy poets of old, born in ancient times, who have fashioned the Path."

33. In the above three verses, Yama is looked upon just as a god, with offerings of Soma, ghee and honey made to him as to the gods. The sacrifice goes to Yama, just as it goes to the gods, and in carrying the sacrifice to Yama, there is the Fire as the messenger. There are many places in the *Ṛgveda*, where it is said that the sacrifice goes to the gods and that it is the Fire that goes as a messenger to carry that sacrifice to the gods. There is no difference shown between the gods and Yama; we have also to assume that, in so far as the departed ancestors too accompany Yama, they too acquire the position of gods.

XVI

34. In this verse there is something said about Yama. It is enigmatic. " It falls through the three vessels. The six earths, this one great universe, the metres *Triṣṭubh* and *Gāyatrī*—all of them are fixed in Yama." The three vessels through which the Soma falls when it is pressed, are mentioned in a few other places. The word is *Kadruka* with the numeral *Tri* (three) before it. The word *Kadruka* itself does not occur in the *Ṛgveda*, nor anywhere in the Vedas. It is not stated in the verse what it is that falls; but from the contexts in which the word occurs elsewhere, it is certain that what falls is Soma. The contrast between the six earths and the one great universe may be noted. Although the entire, great universe is here spoken of as remaining in Yama, there are places where it is said that out of the three parts of the universe, two are in the lap of the sun and only one part is in the domain of Yama. The two metres and everything else are placed in Yama. Here the greatness of Yama is described.

35. Thus ends one poem about Yama. It is assigned to Yama himself as the author also, in ancient indices. It is

not a unitary poem; it consists of a few bits. There is no doubt that it is essentially about Yama. Besides Yama, some of the associates of Yama are also mentioned in the poem. The ancient indices mention some of them as the theme in some of the verses of the poem; but we can say that the poem is about Yama and that the others come in only as associated with Yama, the real theme.

36. Yama is mentioned as a king, *Rājā*. It is not unlikely that even before he found out the Path and departed from this world to the other world, he was a king, and that for this reason the title of king was conferred on him even after he had departed from this world. Varuṇa who was already in the other region as a god, is mentioned as a king, *Rājā*, in many places in the *Ṛgveda*, and also as an emperor, *Saṁrāṭ*. There is nothing to show that Yama had given up his throne before he was able to find out the Path. He must have been able to find out the Path on account of his knowledge and his performance of the religious rituals and also on account of the beneficent rule which he had undertaken as a king. It is as a fruit of this *Iṣṭāpūrta* that men go to that world through the Path, and the case of Yama cannot be anything else. He performed the rituals and he helped humanity. He must have departed from this world to the other world when he was still a king and that might be the reason why he continued to be spoken of as a king even when he was in the other world, going there along the Path which he was able to find out for the first time.

37. We know nothing about his life. We do not know if he had married, if he had sons. We do not know how long he lived and what he was doing during his life-time. We know of him only after he had departed from this world. It is only a plausible conjecture that he might have been a king. Others of a later time in India who are worshipped as founders of cultures, like Śrī Rāma and Śrī Kṛṣṇa, belonged to

royal lines. Śrī Kṛṣṇa belonged to a royal line starting from the moon; Śrī Rāma was the son of a ruling king and he sat on the throne himself. He belonged to the royal dynasty that had its start from the sun. He belonged to the same line in which Yama also was born. Although Śrī Kṛṣṇa did not sit on the throne as a king, he lived the life of a king, in a palace.

38. Buddha, the founder of a religion in India, was heir to the throne; but he renounced his throne and he abandoned his wife and son and wandered about as a recluse. From the earliest times, we hear of kings who had been the wisest among men and who discussed the deepest problems about the Absolute in the company of the other wise people of their times. Thus, there is nothing improbable in a supposition that Yama was also a king when he was alive, or at least that he belonged to the royal line. So he did not acquire any new status after he went to the other world; he continued the status, which he enjoyed when he was alive on the earth.

39. Yama was the son of Vivasvat. Vivasvat is not spoken of as a king in the *Ṛgveda*. But Vivasvat had another son, Manu who was definitely a king, and the kings of the Solar line are spoken of as the progeny of Manu. According to the traditions preserved in Iran, Yima (Yama) is the son of Vīvanhvant (Vivasvat); in later traditions of Iran, Yama became the first among the kings to introduce civilized ways in the life of man. In the description of Yama in the later Iranian traditions, we find something akin to Manu. The first king to introduce civilized life among man is, according to the later Iranian tradition, Jamsheed, which is really Yama Kṣatriya (Yama, the king). His reign is described in a very graphic way in Ferdousi's *Shah Nameh.*

40. Those who start moral life among men are sometimes subject to some kind of temptation from the enemies

of moral life. There is the temptation of Adam by Satan. The Bible records such events in the life of Christ too. There is the temptation of Buddha by Māra, the Lord of the temptations of worldly life. In the case of Yama also, there is something like a temptation. Just as Adam and Eve were the first pair, Yama and Yamī formed a pair. Yamī is taken to be the sister of Yama and they were also twins. There is a very interesting poem in the *Ṛgveda,* which is in the form of a dialogue between Yama and Yamī. Yamī tries to entice Yama, and Yama resists and dissuades her from her wishes as going against the rules of moral life. We have only the dialogue. We do not know who the author of that poem is. In the text itself it is not given that such and such a passage is spoken by Yama and that such and such a passage is spoken by Yamī. We have to know it from the sense and also from the old indices where the theme and the author are given. Here the speaker is recognised as the author. But it is certain that there is an author for the whole poem who has put the passages into the mouth of the two characters taking part in the dialogue.

i

41. The first verse is the word of Yamī. She says that she has a desire to retire to a solitary place, even to the wide ocean along with Yama, to secure his companionship. She expresses a wish that the Creator would create a son for the father on the earth, immensely shining.

ii

42. To this Yama replies that her friend does not like that companionship; both of them had a common origin and she shines as a half form of his. For the great father, there are many heroic sons, who are the supporters of the heaven, viewing very wide all around.

iii, iv

43. Yamī argues that such a union would be desired even by the Immortals. She requests Yama to unite his heart with hers, and invites him to join his body with hers as a husband does with the body of his wife. Yama asks her how they could at that time do what they had never done. Will not those who talk the truth speak ill of them? The demi-god known as the Gandharva who lives in the water and the young damsel of the water—they are their origin. Such is their closest relationship. In this way Yama tries to dissuade her from what she was proposing to him.

v, vi, vii

44. Yamī continues her arguments and says that when they were in the womb together, they had been made the joint masters of a common home by the god, the Creator, the sun, with all the forms. They can never violate his ordinances. This relation of theirs is known to the earth and to the heaven. Who can know what has taken place on this first day? Who can see it? Who can talk about it? The abode of Mitra and of Varuṇa is big indeed. She asks him why he talks about men in that way, when he distributes the rewards to men; he must be a sinner. She requests that the love of Yama may go forth to her, Yamī, so that they may lie down in a common place. She promises Yama that just like a wife to her husband, she would place her body at his disposal. She wants that they should hold each other like the two wheels of a chariot.

45. The three verses are, according to the old indices, the words of Yamī and I have taken them in that way. But modern scholars take them as of Yama and Yamī alternately, the sixth being the words of Yama. But the contents of that verse is more appropriate for Yamī than for Yama. That makes little difference.

viii, ix, x

46. Yama warns Yamī that the spies of the gods do not stop for a moment, they do not close their eyes, the spies who move about in the world. He advises Yamī to go to another person different from himself, as soon as it may be possible for her. She has to get close to him, like the two wheels of a chariot. She has to get close to him. Then Yama addresses her as a sinner.

47. The same word, sinner, appeared in the sixth verse, which I have taken as the word of Yamī, and this must be a retort to her with the same word of remonstration. She called him a sinner and now he addressed her as a sinner.

48. Yama continues, warning her against it and saying that both by day and by night, people would be offering to him the oblations; the eyes of the sun would be kept wide open again and again. They are both a pair of family relations in the heaven and on the earth. Yama complains that Yamī desires to hold with Yama a relationship not suited for such family relations. Yama says that a time may come later when the close relatives may do what is not proper for such close relatives. He advises her to offer her hand as a pillow to some strong man who can legitimately oblige her; he advises her again to go to some one other than himself.

49. Here also, the three consecutive verses are given as the words of Yama in the old indices. But modern translators take them as the words of Yama and Yamī alternately. The ninth verse seems more appropriate for Yama than for Yamī. I have followed the old indices.

xi

50. Then Yamī exhorts Yama to give her satisfaction by saying that a brother is not a brother if in spite of that brother, the sister has to remain abandoned; similarly a sister is not a sister if when she is there, a brother has to suffer.

Overcome with love, Yamī was talking like that; Yamī again asks Yama to unite his body with hers.

xii

51. Yama persists in his determination not to have any such relation with Yamī. He says that it is spoken of as a great sin if a brother should approach his own sister. He again asks her to enjoy life with some one other than himself and asks her to resolve in that way; then he definitely affirms what he had been saying that her brother does not like that act and addresses her as one who deserves happiness in the company of one who is worthy of her and who loves her.

xiii, xiv

52. To this Yamī rebukes Yama and says that he must be a weak person and says that she is not able to understand his mind and his heart. She withdraws from the attempt by wishing to him that some one else would embrace him, as a strap will embrace a horse, as a creeper will embrace a tree. This is perhaps a rebuke that he is refusing her approaches because he must be in love with someone else. To this Yama replies that what he wishes is that she may embrace another and that another may embrace her like a creeper embracing a tree. He expresses his sincere wish that she may look for the heart of such a person and that he may look for her heart too. He concludes with a prayer that she may have a very auspicious union with such a man.

53. The poem is full of feelings. There is also a very high moral tone in it; the rather unwelcome situation is brightened up by the dignity and seriousness of this moral tone. Yamī in the end submits herself to the advice of her brother, though in an unwilling way, though with a complaint about his sternness. There is no indication of any desire on the part of Yama to renounce the world; it is not

also hinted that enjoyments in the world are by themselves to be avoided. Yama was only emphasising the limitations for such enjoyments. Yama never considered women as a seat of sin nor the association with women as a bar on the way to the attainment of one's goal in life.

54. It is certain that the incidents described in the dialogue of Yama and Yamī must be far earlier than the position of Yama in the world beyond, described in the other poem. The dialogue must have taken place when Yama was still in the world, perhaps when he was young. It is also likely that at that time Yama was ruling the world as a king, following all the rules of right conduct for himself and administering the same rules as a ruler. The story of the attempt at the temptation of Yama by Yamī and the firm stand which Yama took up have continued in the later literature of India, known as the *Itihāsas* and the *Purāṇas*, the books relating to ancient chronicles and ancient wisdom. There it is said that Yama was able to move up to the higher world on account of his firm stand against the temptations of Yamī.

55. The ancient literature relating to Yama deals more with Yama after his illumination, after he saw the Path. All that we know of him in his life on the earth is that he was the son of Vivasvat and of Saraṇyū, the daughter of Tvaṣṭar, and that there was the attempt at the temptation of Yama by Yamī. We do not have the same volume of literature relating to Yama which we have about Buddha. In the case of Buddha, the temptation and his victory over the Lord of worldly Temptation, Māra, have been described in various works which deal with the life of Buddha. Thus in the *Buddhacarita* of Aśvaghosa, the incident is described in the thirteenth canto. It is found in practically all the works in Sanskrit and Pāli where the life of Buddha is narrated. In the case of Yama, we have some information of an earlier date only in the *Ṛgveda.*

56. Although Yama is not openly mentioned as a god, it has been shown above that he occupied a position equal to that of the gods; he and Varuṇa are mentioned together as kings. The poet Dīrghatamas says that in reality the divine is only one but that the poets speak of that one as many by the names of Agni (Fire), Yama and Mātariśvan (another Fire-God). Vasiṣṭha, another poet, speaks of the ancient ancestors who had gone over to the other region as enjoying life there in the company of the gods; they were the preservers of the Law, they were poets. It is they who had found out the ancient Light. They whose secret words come out true produced the Dawn. Although this is spoken of about the dead ancestors, we cannot dissociate them from Yama.

57. A poet speaks of Yama as the very beloved friend of Agni (Fire); the indices are not sure about the real poet, varying names being given as alternatives. In this connection, Agni is also given as the the messenger of Yama's father Vivasvat. There is no fear attached to the person of Yama. The place to which he had departed from his life on the earth is one of the most inviting regions in the world. That is the place where the poet sings out his words of poetry, where there is always light, where it is that the celestial regions are located, which is the eternal region, where lives the king, the son of Vivasvat (Yama), where there is the entrance to the heaven, where there are the young waters (pictured as young ladies), where one can move about according to his will, where the regions are full of light, where there is fulfilled all the wishes and intense desires, where there is the offering given to the dead ancestors and full contentment, where there are joys and enjoyments, happiness and revelry, where all the wishes are attained by one who has desires.

58. It is to such a region that Yama had departed, and he lives there along with the gods and along with the ancient forefathers who had also departed from life on the earth,

especially in the company of some of the most holy among the forefathers like the Aṅgiras. He returns to the earth and is in communion with the people here and he comes to the earth in the company of the others who had also departed; he accepts the offerings made to them by the people here. In the passages where the poet prays for the return of the mind that had gone to Yama, the son of Vivasvat, in the far off region, where also the poet speaks of his having brought back the mind of his friend from Yama, the son of Vivasvat, there is no indication that the mind had gone to a region of terror and that there is any anxiety for the return of the mind from that region on that account. With all the joys in heaven, the people in the Vedic age loved the world and the life on the earth to such an extent that they never thought of a departure from this earth until they are compelled to do so at the termination of the span of life allotted to them. Another poet speaks of auspiciousness which the eye would see in Yama, the son of Vivasvat.

59. Just as Yama was coupled with Varuṇa, as kings in the region beyond, there is a mention of Yama in whose domain a third of the world remains while the other two parts rest in the lap of the Sun-god Savitar. There is also mention of the abode of Yama to which one speeds as a bird does. I must again emphasise that no one in the time of the Vedas thought of an escape from this life and that the necessity to leave this world is always considered as a misfortune; it may not be on account of the terrors of the other world since that region is also full of happiness. Along with the prayers that the worshippers may have the full span of life and that no part of it may be taken away from him, there is also a prayer that the worshippers may not go along the path of Yama. Yama's relation to death is clear even in the *Ṛgveda*. He is mentioned as Death in one place. There are many places where there is the prayer that the worshipper

may not be handed over to Death. There is also a mention of the fetters which Yama puts on the feet of man, along with the sins through an Oath and what Varuṇa may bring about as bondages. These are hints of a fear of the effects of committing sins. The belief that sinners are kept out of the region of Yama is faintly hinted in the *Ṛgveda.* But the real spirit is the happiness in the region of Yama, which must be a continuation of the happiness of man in his life on the earth.

60. Regarding sin and its effects on the prospects after death, the most that we can say is that the sinners cannot go to the happy region where Yama lives. There is no mention of a region in which the sinners would be confined after their death. In the various religions there is an antithesis between good and evil, one set against the other. There are regions of suffering corresponding to the regions of happiness. Thus in the *Avesta*, there is mention of the sixteen regions of good and of happiness created by the Great God Ahura Mazda and there are also the sixteen regions of evil and suffering created by His rival and opponent Angra Mainyu. But in the *Ṛgveda* we do not come across such a region nor with an agent in charge of that region. There is the later belief in a Hell, *Naraka.* In the *Atharvaveda* there is mention of *Naraka.* There is a mention of one avoiding the lowest place; the immense darkness is also mentioned in the *Atharvaveda*, and also the region covered by blinding gloom.

61. There is no doubt that later Yama became the Lord of the region to which the sinners go; Indra took the place of Yama as the Lord of the heaven where the good people go and enjoy life. Yama had a buffalo to ride on. This idea of separate animals as the vehicles of gods and men is a later one. In the *Ṛgveda* itself there is reference to animals as drawing the chariots of the various gods; generally it is a horse that draws the chariot. But other animals are also mentioned, and Yāska, who has written a work called the

Nirukta or Exegesis in which Vedic words and passages are interpreted, speaks of the various animals that draw the chariots of the different gods.

62. In spite of the fact that Yama became the Lord of the region where the sinners go, the region known as *Naraka* or Hell, he continued to hold the noble traits in his character as indicated by the various names by which he is known in later literature in Sanskrit. He is called the *Dharmarāja*, the king who administers the Law of moral life. This is also a synonym of Buddha. Another name is *Samavartin*, one who remains equal and just to all. He is the father of the eldest of the five brothers who won at the end the War known as the Mahābhārata War, which is the main theme in the grand epic, the *Mahābhārata*. Thus, Yama never became an agent of evil, an enemy of God.

63. Yama was among the wisest of the people. In the *Upaniṣad*, he is spoken of as the only one who knows about the future of a man after his death. He gives instructions to a boy who had gone to him, on matters relating to the future of one when he dies. This leads him to give a discourse on the problems of the Absolute in the Universe. The great difference between Yama of the Veda and of the later literature is that Yama lost his domain over the region where the good people go after death and that his jurisdiction became confined to the region to which the sinners go.

64. He ever continued as the son of Vivasvat. He is the Lord of the southern region along with the other great gods who are assigned to the other regions as Lords, like Indra in the east, Fire in the south-east and the Great God Śiva in the north-east. So in the later literature he definitely becomes a god, which he was not in the Vedas. He was in the Vedas only a mortal who had gone to the other world and enjoyed the status and the pleasures like the gods. Just as in later literature, Indra, the Lord of the Heaven, has his city

of Amarāvatī, Yama, the Lord of the *Naraka* (Hell), has also his city called the Saṁyamanī (the place where men are properly controlled).

65. There are certain stories in the Vedas that are of very great interest. I consider two of them as of special value in the matter of the study of Yama. One is the story of Śunaḥśepa described in the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* in the *Ṛgveda*. The story is based on certain references in the poems of the *Ṛgveda* ascribed to Śunaḥśepa. There are frequent allusions to the ropes of Varuṇa and prayers for release from those ropes.

66. This is the tragic story of a boy who was about to be sent to the abode of Yama. There is another story narrated in the *Kaṭhopaniṣad*. There was a pious man named Vājaśravas. He had a son named Naciketas. One day Vājaśravas was making rich offerings to the pious and wise people; he was giving away cows after cows to them. The boy looked at this and wondered what would be the fruits of such gifts when the father was giving away practically his whole possession. In the end he asked his father to whom the father proposed to give the son and when the boy repeated the question, the father in a state of irritation said, " To Death."

67. Naciketas went to the abode of Yama, still a young boy; but Yama was not in at that time and the boy had to wait for three days and nights for the return of Yama. When Yama came back, he was sorry that the boy had to wait for such a long time and he asked the boy what boon Yama could grant him; he was given three choices. The first two choices were easy. One was that he wanted to return to his father and he also wanted that his father be not angry with him. The second was that Naciketas should know something about a Fire named Naciketas. The two were easy to grant.

68. The third boon which Naciketas wanted was that Yama should reveal to him the secret of death, when there

were the doubts if anything remains or not after death. Yama promised him riches and all pleasures and luxuries in life if Naciketas would not press that question. But Naciketas persisted and in the end Yama gave him his teaching. Naciketas wanted only wisdom and not worldly pleasures. Yama also emphasised the superiority of what is beneficial for the future in relation to what is pleasing for the time being, and Yama congratulated the boy on his choice.

69. The discourse relates to the nature of the self, that it cannot be known through the sense-organs and that the self can be known only through intuition. There is also the relation of the self to the body, the relation being that of the charioteer to the chariot. There is the imagery of a tree in describing the nature of the universe, that the tree has its roots above and its branches below.

70. This must have been an ancient story and there are indications of the story in a poem in the *Ṛgveda* relating to Yama. The poem is attributed to a boy (Kumāra) who is a descendant of Yama and the poem is about Yama. As in the case of the description of Yama in the heaven enjoying life in the company of the other forefathers, in this poem also there is considerable uncertainty about the author of the poem. Some young boy figures in the poem, but not as the poet.

i

71. There is a tree with thick and green foliage and on this tree Yama revels in drinks in the company of the gods. On that tree our ancient forefather, the lord of the people, looks for the friendship of the ancients. There is a tree and there is the father, the lord of the people. We have to consider who the father is and what the tree is.

72. Reference to the father and to the tree are found in other places also. Śunaḥśepa speaks of the father and

the mother. Then Śunaḥśepa says that the king Varuṇa has planted a tree. It stands with its growth downwards, and its roots are above. Within us remain concealed the clues thereof. This description of the tree in the poem of Śunaḥśepa in the *Ṛgveda* cannot be dissociated from the description of the tree as a symbolism of the universe, found in the *Kaṭhopaniṣad*, noted just above. We see the same description in the *Bhagavad Gītā*.

73. Here is a tree that has its roots above and that grows downwards and the clue to solve this mystery is hidden within man himself. This is just what Yama also instructs in his discourse to Naciketas, as described in that *Upaniṣad*. The nature of the self cannot be known through the sense-organs, but it can be known only through some inner faculty within us, intuition.

74. There are three verses in the philosophical poem by Dīrghatamas. In these verses, there is a description of a tree and also the reference to the father. Two birds, comrades united to each other, resort to a common tree. Of the two, one eats the sweet berry; the other, without eating, just looks on. Where the birds ceaselessly sing forth about their share of immortality, before the learned assembly, there the lord of all, the protector of the world, the wise, entered him, the limited. Upon which tree, the honey-drinkers, the birds, rest in peace and all inspire themselves. On the top of it, they say, is verily the sweet berry. One does not reach up to it, who does not know the father.

75. These three verses must be interpreted in the light of the first verse in the poem, now being taken up, where also there is the reference to the tree, to enjoyment, to the father, to the lord of the people. What is this tree? When there is the imagery of a tree in describing the universe, in the poem of Śunaḥśepa and in the *Kaṭhopaniṣad*, we cannot say that the tree in this context is anything else. But Geldner

takes it to mean wisdom. I admit it is the universe in its aspect of a mystery. Two birds resort to the tree. One of them who has attained wisdom eats the sweet berry. The other, unable to eat the berry, simply sits and looks on. This must be a contrast between the wise man and the ordinary man. The berry must be wisdom. The name Pippalāda (One who eats the berry) is found associated with one of the wisest among the Vedic people. The man with intuition understands and enjoys the fruits of wisdom. Here the singular is used in the case of the men of wisdom and the ordinary men. It shows only the class.

76. The birds, the wise men, sing of the share of immortality in the form of poetry in the assembly of the learned men, without a stop, without a wink of the eye. On that occasion the wise protector of the entire world, entered the poet. The idea must be that wisdom entered the poet. It was in that context that he really became a poet, with wisdom and with intuition, becoming able to understand the mystery of the universe in the form of the tree.

77. In that tree all the birds who drink the honey find peace and derive inspiration. The sweet berry is on the top of that tree, so they say. It is only one who has realised the father who can reach up to the sweet berry. Honey is a symbol of wisdom in the *Ṛgveda*. There is the *Madhu-vidyā* (the Honey-wisdom) associated with a story about the Aśvins, the pair of wise gods. They are the physicians. Here the term physician also should not be taken in its literal sense. The disease which they cure is that of ignorance, the disease in the form of attachment, enmity etc. That is what is given in the opening verse in the medical work called the *Aṣṭāṅga-hṛdaya*. That is what Kālidāsa also means in the closing portion of the eighth canto in his *Raghuvaṁśa*, when he speaks of the disease which ordinary physicians cannot cure. The father is the father who had entered the poet, and what had

entered the poet is wisdom. One without wisdom cannot get the berries.

78. The tree with thick and green foliage must be the same tree mentioned by Dīrghatamas and by Śunaḥśepa and also mentioned in the *Kaṭhopaniṣad* and in the *Bhagavad Gītā*. The tree is the mystery of the world. Yama was able to solve the mystery of the universe and in that state of wisdom, Yama is able to drink the honey, which is the same as what Dīrghatamas had referred to, in the company of the gods. It is on that same tree that the father, the wisdom, the same wisdom which had entered Dīrghatamas, looks for the friendship of the ancients.

79. Dīrghatamas speaks of the wisdom that entered him as the protector of the entire world. There is the word *Viśva*, used by Dīrghatamas; there is the word *Viś* used in this poem. The two words are related. One has settled down into the sense of " all " and the other acquired the sense of " people ". The word *Viś* can also mean " the home ". The corresponding word in the old Persian means " a home ". In the Veda we have the cognate word *Dam-pati*, which means the lord (*Pati*) of *dam* (home). So, here and in the usage of the word *Viśva* in the poem of Dīrghatamas, the idea is more or less the same, that of " the lord of the home ". The home is the body. The body, when compared to a chariot, becomes what the self controls.

80. In another poem, it was found that Yama had been revelling in the heaven. Here it is said that Yama had also the wisdom with which he enjoys his life in the other world along with the gods. The wisdom is what had made the friendship of the ancient people for Yama. This shows that it is not a mere Path through ritualism which Yama had found out. He had found the Path through his illumination and that Path of illumination had been trodden by others also. In the other poem there was a reference to *Iṣṭāpūrta*,

religious life and life of service to the society. Here there is the complement to them in the form of wisdom.

ii

81. The second verse is rather enigmatic. Sāyaṇa reads into it the full story of the *Kaṭhopaniṣad*, how the father sent the boy to the abode of Yama and how the boy was worried about it and how, yet, the boy desired to meet the father. According to Sāyaṇa, the sense would be: " The father desired me to follow the ancients and acted in this sinful way. I looked at him with anger; then again I had a longing for seeing him." If such an interpretation is taken up, then the father in the previous verse would be Vājaśravas, the father of Naciketas in the *Kaṭhopaniṣad*. That is how Sāyaṇa interprets the verse also. According to Sāyaṇa, the meaning would be that when Yama was revelling in the other world along with the gods, the father wanted Naciketas to follow the path of the ancients and to live in the region of Yama. In the *Kaṭhopaniṣad*, it is not said that Vājaśravas, the father, was a king. Here in the first verse, the father is spoken of as the Lord of the people. The modern interpretation is that the father is Yama himself, the lord of the people or of the home.

82. If the verse is taken by itself, then the interpretation of Sāyaṇa is quite correct and it cannot be questioned. In the old indices, the poet is mentioned as Kumāra, the progeny of Yama. In this case, there is the possibility of the father being Yama. But I took the verse along with the passages from the poems of Śunaḥśepa and of Dīrghatamas, and as such I read into it some different meaning. One thing is certain and that is that the subject in the second verse qualified by the expression " walking along the path of sin " must be the same as the father in the first verse. The general meaning of the second verse is given below.

83. "Him who was looking for the friendship of the ancients, who was walking along the path of sin,—him I looked at with anger, and then at a later time I began to long for him." The expression, "along this path of sin" occurs in two more places. One is when Śunaḥśepa prays to Indra that the donkey who brays in this evil way may be killed. The other is when it is said that the form of the bridegroom will be ugly if he dons himself in this evil way; it will be so if the bridegroom puts on the robes of the bride. There are words like *enas* and *aṁhas* to signify sin. But in these two instances there is not even a hint of an element of sin. In the two instances what is evil is only what is out of the way.

84. In the light of this, I interpret the verse as follows. That father, that wisdom, that had been entering the heart of the ancient people, which, on the contrary, moves along ways that are rather out of what is agreeable—in the beginning I looked upon that wisdom with some sort of hesitation; but later I longed to possess it. What is likely to be out of the way in the process of wisdom might be that it is associated with all sorts of defects in this world. Wisdom does not dawn in the heart of the man easily and directly. It is on account of the association of knowledge with things that are not quite agreeable to him that he did not care much for this wisdom in the beginning. The poem must be by some one who was a seeker after truth. He tried many ways and all such ways appeared to be full of sufferings, of what are not agreeable. At a later stage he tried his own ways and then he began to love wisdom.

85. He might have had many hopes and many disappointments and later there might have been some disillusionment also. In that later stage he began to love wisdom, when it was sought after in his own way. Dīrghatamas too had his own days of hopes and efforts and disappointments. Then all on a sudden he found that some ray of wisdom

entered his heart. The same was the case with Śunaḥśepa.. He found only bondage in this world around and he prayed to the gods for relief from all such fetters. He had to fall into the deepest bottom of frustrations, and it was at the time of the lowest ebb of despondency that he took to the new method of prayers to the gods for illumination and he found release from all his bondages and his sufferings. In the present case, we do not know what methods he adopted in the end so that he began to love wisdom. From the context I feel that it was the example of Yama that showed him the light. The instruction of Yama must be what is contained in the *Kaṭhopaniṣad* where Yama compares the universe to a mysterious tree.

iii, iv

86. There is a reference to a chariot in the following three verses and the verses are addressed to a prince (Kumāra). The first two verses, already explained, might be the words of the same Kumāra. " O Prince, the new chariot which you have constructed with your mind, without a wheel, with one axle, which goes forward in all directions, you are ascending that without seeing it. O prince, that chariot which you set rolling away from the poets—a chant rolled forth in pursuit of it away from hence, well placed in a ship." This is what is contained in the first two of the three verses relating to the chariot.

87. Here also, we cannot miss some relation to the chariot imagery in the *Kaṭhopaniṣad*. The chariot must be the body. There was the old body which was the seat of sin and ignorance. Now there is a new body constructed by his own will power and he has occupied this new body. There was a time when the prince had been running away with his old body, far from the poets. But the poetry chased him from hence, being placed in a ship. It is poetry, song, which

brought him back when he was running away from the poets. The ship was able to overtake the old chariot. There is frequent mention of ships in the *Ṛgveda*. He did not like the ways in the world and he ran away from the paths that lead to wisdom. But poetry and song chased him and he returned, compelled by them and then it must be that he liked wisdom.

88. I am not sure whether the prince was repelled by the formal, dry ritualism of the poets and that he was later attracted to the situation by the beauty of their poetry. In this connection I must make it clear that in the *Ṛgveda*, wisdom is associated with poetry; they are identical. There is also in the *Ṛgveda* a distinct contrast between the happiness promised from rituals and the happiness resulting from poetry. This must be the case of a person who was repelled by the ritualism and who was attracted by the poetry. This verse must be read along with the reference to the original aversion and the later attraction mentioned in the earlier verse. As a matter of fact the essence of the *Kaṭhopaniṣad* is the repellent aspects in ritualism and the attractions of wisdom over the mysteries.

V

89. This verse states the words of the poet, his reflections on the situation. Who created the prince? Who brought his chariot back? Who can it be that can tell us this today, how it became his accompaniment? There is mention of a new body created for the prince and also there is the mention of the poetry which chased his retreating chariot and brought him back. Who can it be that changed his body, the chariot, from the old one to the new one? Who can it be that could make this change in him so that when he was running away, he returned towards it at a later stage, so that when he was originally repelled by wisdom, he was attracted by it at a

later stage? The poet must be saying that no one can give a reply. There are other places also in the *Ṛgveda* where the poem ends with such a question.

vi

90. The next verse too is rather a mystery. The new chariot had become his accompaniment. When it became his accompaniment, at that time, there arose a front. The word for "accompaniment" is *anuneyī*. This is a technical term. It has special reference to a wedding when the bride is sent to the house of the bridegroom with some accompaniments as presents and as followers. The word occurs in this sense in the poem about wedding in the *Ṛgveda*. The position must be this. He was running away in his old chariot. Then the poetry chased him in a ship. He was overtaken and he was brought back, evidently in that ship, with his chariot only as an accompaniment. At this moment when the chariot became an accompaniment, himself sitting in the ship laden with wisdom, the back of the chariot became the front. The front of the chariot became the position where the bottom had to be placed and the way to get out became placed in the back. Usually there is the bottom on the back and the raised portion must be in the front; the entrance and exit too must be in the front. So the front and the back were reversed when the retreating chariot began to move backwards. The chariot was not turned round, but was simply pulled backwards.

vii

91. The poem started with a description of the position, the tree with green and thick foliage, where Yama was drinking the sweet honey in the company of the gods. The poem ends also with a similar description of the abode of Yama. This is the abode of Yama, what is called the abode

of the gods. This is his bugle that is being blown. He, Yama, has been adorned with songs.

92. This poem, like the poem about Yama where Yama is described as enjoying life in the other world along with the departed forefathers, does not seem to be a complete piece. We see three pairs of verses with a final verse. There is the place where Yama enjoyed life in the company of the gods, drinking honey. Some one, the prince in the poem, was not attracted by certain aspects of the teachings of the days and later he was attracted to it. This is the first pair. Then there is described how a new body had been created as a chariot and how he had run away from the world with his old chariot and how he was brought back. This is in the second pair. In the third pair there is the question how this was effected and who effected it; also there is a hint regarding his flight and his return. Then the poem closes. The first two verses are put into the mouth of the prince, the second pair is addressed to the prince; then the last three verses are the words of the poet himself. Perhaps the portions that can give the connecting link are lost. Or perhaps in those days, the people could follow the trend even with thus much.

93. The incident of the discourse of Yama to Naciketas is indicated in this poem. I do not find the actual events in the earlier part of the Upaniṣad expressly stated here. The dissatisfied state of mind in the case of the disciple and the instruction given by Yama which changed his mind are clear in the poem. There are hints also of the instructions, especially the comparison with the tree and with the chariot. The close relation of the poem to the *Kaṭhopaniṣad* is quite clear and cannot be contested.

94. I try to reconstruct the story that must have been at the back of this poem. Yama had been known to have found out the Path and to have gone along that Path to the

world beyond. There was a young prince who was dissatisfied with the methods adopted for attaining that supreme goal, the method being formal rituals and gifts. He went to Yama and Yama gave him instructions and the prince changed his views completely. Yama congratulated the prince on this change. The poem contains the description of the state of mind of the prince in the first two verses, the congratulation by Yama in the next two verses and the poet's reflections on the situation in the last three verses. In the first two verses, there are the reflections of the prince about his past condition and his later stage, after he had the instruction from Yama and after he had his own illuminations.

95. In the *Ṛgveda*, there are three poems about Yama. In one there is the description of Yama's position after his illumination and his attainment of the region beyond, going through the Path that he had been able to find after his illumination. In another, there is described his firm adhesion to the laws of moral life, free from any temptation in the world. In the third poem there is a hint of Yama giving instruction to a dissatisfied disciple and rescuing him from despondency. There is yet another poem ascribed, according to ancient indices, to Yamī, the sister of Yama and addressed to Yama. In the light of the dialogue between Yama and Yamī, this is of particular interest. The ancient indices speak of the content of this poem as " a description of a state of affairs ". The whole poem is not addressed to Yama; the name appears in the vocative case only in two of the five verses comprising the poem. In all the verses, there is the final word which is the verb, *Gacchatām*, meaning " may one go or may he go ". Even when there is the name of Yama appearing in the vocative, this verb appears in the third person and not in the second person. So we have to take the whole poem as addressed to Yama and as relating to a certain person. Yamī must be requesting his brother Yama to allow a certain person,

presumably the man who is about to depart from this world, to enter heaven.

96. The gist of the whole poem is as follows. May he go even to them and only to them, among whom there are some for whom Soma is offered, there are others who desire *ghee* (cooked butter) and still others to whom honey flows. May he go even to them and only to them who have become irresistible through their penance, who have gone to the heaven through their penance, who had performed a great penance. May he go even to them and only to them who are fighting in battles, who are heroes that sacrifice their body or who are offering a thousand gifts. O Yama, may he go even to them and only to them who indeed have been the early guardians of the Law, the possessors of the Law, the promoters of the Law, the forefathers who had performed penance. O Yama, may he go even to the sages who had performed penance, who are born of penance, the poets who give a thousand leads, who protect the sun.

97. Yama occupies a position of eminence in the heaven and his sister Yamī, who was still on the earth, must be requesting her brother to grant the departing person entry to the place where the ancients had gone, the ancients who had played their parts in the affairs of the world during their life in many a walk. In another poem there is more or less the same sort of description of Yama in the other world where he was revelling in the company of the gods and of the departed forefathers who had gone there after him.

98. Yama is given out as one among the gods when it is said that the poets speak of the One in various ways like Agni (Fire), Yama and Mātariśvan. Yama is enumerated along with the other gods like the sun and the moon in one place and along with gods like the heaven and the earth, Aditi, Tvaṣṭar and Viṣṇu. Yama is also mentioned as having found out the Fire.

99. Yama, thus, is one of the most important personalities in the *Ṛgveda*. He was at first a mortal. It is said that Yama accepted death to be among the gods; he did not accept immortality to remain among the men. He made Bṛhaspati, the poet, an article for a sacrifice. He discarded the beloved body. This explanation of the verse is not in accordance with the interpretation of Sāyaṇa. In the *Atharvaveda* also it is said that he was the first mortal to depart from this world.

100. He is called a king (*Rājā*) in the *Ṛgveda*; even when he was in the other world, the title continued. The possibility is that he was a king as a man and that the title was applied to him when the poets spoke of him in the other world. Of course, he retained even in that world, the position of eminence which he as a king had been enjoying in this world. He kept the people together, as is mentioned both in the *Ṛgveda* and in the *Atharvaveda*. He kept up the Laws of good moral life in his conduct and never allowed himself to be seduced by any temptations. It would be found that in the story of Yama and his disciple Naciketas in the *Upaniṣads*, he tried first to tempt the disciple with the promise of various pleasures in the world and it was only when the disciple refused to accept any such substitute for the knowledge about the ultimate, that he was willing to pass on the secret to the disciple. He says also in the discourse that there are two factors in life—what is pleasing for the time being and what will be for the benefit in future and he recommends the choice of the latter in preference to the former. It must be this trait in his life which attracted people to him and which made him a god later in the eyes of the poets.

101. Besides being a strong and virtuous king, he must have been also a great scholar, a very wise person and in course of time he was able to find the Path for everlasting happiness after death. He was recognised as the one person who knew

the secret about the soul after death. As I have said earlier, Yama must be the name given to him at a later stage on account of the discipline which he maintained among the men as a ruler. His father was Vivasvat and his maternal grand-father was Tvaṣṭar. Tvaṣṭar is one who constructs, the architect. Vivasvat is one who illuminates. All of them must be names given to the respective persons at a later stage.

102. We do not know anything about his life on the earth except the few scraps like the name of his father and the name of his maternal grand-father. He had a brother named Manu, who too was a son of Vivasvat. We do not know whether Yama was really a king; it is only a presumption because of the title of king (*Rājā*) attributed to him when he was in the other world. According to the Indian tradition, it was Manu who started the line of kings in the world, and not Yama.

103. We do not know if he had married and if he had any sons. We hear about poets who are the progenies of Yama. It may not be his sons; it may be the members of the family at a later time. We cannot say anything about it. There is nothing to show that he had actually abandoned the cares of the world before he had the illumination. He must have lived as a wise man and as a maintainer of the moral Law. We know of no other disciple of his than Naciketas found in the *Kaṭhopaniṣad*. And he did not start any Order or any Church or any hierarchy of Priests. He had no Dogmas. There is nothing left for us from him as " His Teaching " except the philosophy found in the *Upaniṣad*. Neither he nor his disciple nor any of his later followers claimed for him the authority as the First and Last Wise Man who had known the truth and who had given the true message to humanity. So far as the Vedic people were concerned, he was the first wise man to see the Path. When he went to the other world, the gods were there. Even

prior to him there must have been some religious rituals and rules of good conduct in man's life.

104. The Path that he found remained open for many a man in later times to follow. It remains open even now. But the person who found out the Path underwent many changes in the eyes of the people. He was never proclaimed as the founder of a religion. The religion remained intact, without being split up into sects. He disappeared from the scene as the first to find out the Path. Truth, and never a personality, dominated the minds of the people. He may be proclaimed as the founder of the Vedic religion. He was never the "One Wise Man". He was one among the many, though it was he who was known to have found the Path for the first time. He had many an associate in his task of organising the civilization of the people. There is nothing to show that he had condemned any previous practice and replaced them with his own forms and beliefs of religion. He could find the Path because he followed the civilized life of the previous times.

105. My original plan was to start the book with Yama since it was he who for the first time found out the Path for humanity to pass along. To that extent he is the Founder of the religion of India. If at that time there had been an empire and an emperor too who would have extended his patronage to the Priests to establish a religion in which the emperor would be the representative of the God on the earth, perhaps Yama would have been proclaimed as the Messenger of God and as the first to show to humanity the ways of God which man has to follow. Really he was not the "One" messenger of God; there were many who had the same vision of the wisdom, of the light, as Yama; it is not also unlikely that there were others who had searched for the light and found out the light before him, or at least along with him. There was Manu who had established the system of worship,

and the possibility is that Yama had been following that path of worship before he had the vision of the Path. The real founders of the civilization of India are the poets, and for this reason I decided to start the book with Dīrghatamas who is the foremost among the philosophers whose poems are included in the *Ṛgveda* collection.

V. MANU

1. Manu is the most powerful personality in the history of Indian civilization. Perhaps it is only the Vedic literature that exerted such a strong hold on the life and on the emotions and on the intellect of the people as Manu. Manu was a very important personality in the Vedas and he continued his position with added importance during the later development of the civilization of India. Even gods did not have such a persistent hold on the civilization of the country which Manu had held. In the Vedas, it is Indra who is the real hero, the leader of the people, setting an example for the life of martial heroism which the people of the Vedic age lived. But in later times, he dropped down from that position; though he was installed as the Lord of the heavens and of the gods in later mythology, he was not in the epic age the same heroic warrior which he was in the Vedic civilization. He was harassed by the demons and he had always to go to the Great God Viṣṇu for protection and he even called for the help of the heroic kings on the earth in his encounters with the demons. In the Vedic age, the people and the kings looked to Indra for help and in the later times the current was reversed. In the Vedas, he had his consort, Indrāṇī; in the later epic he was more the husband of this Vedic consort than a great hero. In the Vedas, he is spoken of as the Lord of Śacī, " Power," in many places; Śacī became a name for his consort, Indrāṇī, in the Epics; but that did not make him any more powerful.

2. Viṣṇu was a great god even in the Vedas. But he was not in the Vedas, the great warrior with his weapons,

the destroyer of the demons and of evil in this world, the protector of humanity against the enemies of civilized life. He had his wide strides, his all encompassing movements. His abode was the highest position in the world. In this way, his eminence in the Vedas as a great god cannot be questioned; but he did not have the position as the leader of men in the Vedas, which he became in the epics. As a matter of fact, in later times, he took the position among the people which Indra had enjoyed in the Vedas. Although a great god both in the Vedas and in the later epics, he had many changes in his nature and in his function.

3. Rudra is another great god of the Vedas, who continued in the epics as another great god along with Viṣṇu. Rudra had his weapons, and his darts were a terror to the enemies of the nation. He had a thousand remedies in his possession. Like Viṣṇu, he too came into the position of supreme eminence in the life of the people only in the epic period and he was not the same leader of the nation in the Vedas. Rudra had much of Dravidian features also added to him in his change from the Vedic Rudra to the epic Śiva.

4. In the epic period, there are three gods known as the Trinity of Gods (*Trimūrti*), namely, Viṣṇu, Śiva and Brahman. Brahman was not at all a god in the Vedas; in the neuter gender the name meant only the poetry of the Vedas, and in the masculine, it meant the poet. The term meant the highest truth in later times, even in the *Upaniṣads*, when it is in the neuter. In the Vedas, we had Viśvakarman (the maker of All) and Hiraṇyagarbha (Golden Womb) as the Creator of the world. It is this aspect of creatorship that was assigned to Brahman in the epic period.

5. Manu is a great personality in the Vedas. He is the progenitor of humanity. The word Manu in the plural meant " men " in the Vedas and in the singular also, it meant " humanity ". There is the word *Mānava*, " related to Manu

or progeny of Manu," which is one of the synonyms of man in Sanskrit. He established the religious practices along with others, in the Vedas. He is, according to later epics, the first among the kings. He is also the ruler of the world for a long period in the history of the universe. Manu ceased to be a person and Manu became a position in the Government of the Universe. In the later epics he is also the first law-giver, the person who taught the laws of moral life to humanity. From the Vedas to the epic period, Manu had only an elevation and an expansion.

6. In spite of his position as the institutor of the religious practices in the Vedas, there is no poem addressed to Manu or describing Manu, in the whole of the Vedas. That is the case with some of the leaders of Vedic civilization besides Manu; for example, there is the Aṅgiras and the Atharvan, sages who played a very prominent part in the development of the Vedic civilization. But his name appears very prominently in the Vedic literature, along with the names of the other leaders in the establishment of the Vedic civilization.

7. In a verse addressed to the gods in general, it is said that it was Manu who first performed the Sacrifices, the Vedic rituals:

> (1) For whom Manu performed the first Sacrifice with invocations, with the Fire kindled, on account of his mental powers, along with the seven invokers; may those sons of Aditi (Gods), vouchsafe us freedom from fear and also happiness, may they make our Path easy to traverse so that we may have eternal weal.

Manu is also spoken of as Father:

> (2) The intuitive powers which Atharvan, Father Manus and Dadhyañc developed.

Here the word appears as Manus and not Manu. This is only a small difference, being two derivatives from the same root *Man* (to think). But there are places where the origin of the human race is traced to other sources; thus Fire is called the first to propagate the progeny of Manu and Mātariśvan, another form of Fire, is mentioned as having found out the Path for his son; and this Mātariśvan is also spoken of as the knower of the heaven. Such an alteration in positions and relationships and functions are met with in the Vedas; but that does not go against the basic position of Manu being the first forefather of humanity.

8. I do not know in which sense Manu is called the father of humanity. In later literature, there are fathers for a person on account of certain functions besides the father who was the cause for the birth of the person. Thus Kālidāsa says that the first king, Dilīpa, described in his *Raghuvaṁśa*, was the real father of the people because he disciplined them, protected them and maintained them. It is very likely that this notion of the function of the ruler is a Vedic belief, that the ruler of the country is also a father to the people. Nowhere is it said in the *Ṛgveda* that the whole of the human race originated in a primal pair, a man and a woman. Yama and Yamī, brother and sister, are not the originators of the human race. The whole poem in which there is a dialogue between Yama and Yamī goes against the assumption that they were the primal father and mother of humanity.

9. The most conspicuous feature of Manu is that it was he who for the first time instituted the Sacrifice among the people.

> (1) O fire, Manu established you as a light for the people as a whole. You have shone by the side of Kaṇva, being born from the Law and growing in size, you before whom the people bow.

> (2) That form of yours which Manu, which Sumitra (the poet) has kindled, O Fire, that form of yours of this nature is newer than everything. May you shine forth full of wealth, may you accept our songs; may he give us victory, may he bring us glory.

In the first of the two verses, it is certain that what is meant is that it was Manu who for the first time kindled the Fire for the purposes of the sacrifices. In the same verse, Kaṇva is also joined to Manu in this act of kindling the fire. There are many places where Manu is associated with various Sages. Some of them are well-known poets who have contributed their own poems to the available collection of the *Ṛgveda*, among whom Kaṇva is one. In the second verse also, the meaning must be that Manu kindled the sacred Fire for sacrifices for the first time, and in this case, he is associated with Sumitra who is the author for this poem.

> (3) Just as you have performed the sacrifice for the gods with the offerings which belonged to Manu, the poet, becoming a poet among the poets, in that same way, O invoker of the gods, the most truthful, O Fire, may you now perform a sacrifice with the sweet ladle.

Fire is the invoker of the gods to the sacrifice and he is also spoken of as a participant in the sacrifice, in many places. Here the position must be that Manu had formerly performed a sacrifice and in that sacrifice, the Fire has taken part by invoking the gods. In the same way, the poet, Gotama Rāhūgaṇa, requests the Fire to perform a similar sacrifice making use of the sweet ladle. He was making the offerings of sweet things with the ladle, and the Fire is requested to invoke the gods to the sacrifice so that they may enjoy the offerings.

10. (1) By the same protections by which You both, O heroes, searched the Path for the sake of Śayu,

for the sake of Atri, for the sake of Manu in olden times, by which you secured for Syūmaraśmi an arrow of reed, may you both come hither with the same protections, O Aśvins.

(2) By which protections you have fully protected Manu with the arrows, may you both come hither with the same protections, O Aśvins.

Here in the first verse, the word " in olden times " is used along with Manu. But I think that the word has to be construed with all the other names. In the second verse, there is protection given to Manu who is spoken of as a hero, *Vīra*. The meaning must be that the Aśvins secured weapons for Manu and not that they used the weapons against Manu's enemies and protected him. It is found that the Aśvins had secured an arrow for Syūmaraśmi, in the first verse.

11. Dadhyañc, the ancient Aṅgiras, Priyamedha, Kaṇva, Atri and Manu have known my birth; they, the ancients, have known my birth. They had their long association with the gods. Our navel (origin) is in them. Along their path I salute with the exalted song; Indra and Fire I salute with song.

Here the poet who sings like this is Parucchepa, and it is said that the great sages herein enumerated have known his origin. The idea must be that his own ancestors were associated with the Sages enumerated here and that the sages had been in association with the gods long before and that his own origin is in them, that is, he was singing the song in pursuit of the songs sung by those ancient sages.

12. Just as you have become purified for the sake of Manu, you who possess power, who destroy the enemies, who know the immense space, who possess the offerings given, in the same way, become

> purified, bearing wealth; abide by the side of Indra, produce the weapons.

The poet is pressing Soma and requests Soma to behave exactly in the same way in which Soma had behaved when handled by Manu. This also shows that Manu had something to do with the first institution of the sacrifice.

13. It must be on account of his prominent position in the matter of the institution of the sacrifices that Manu was supposed to be the father of men. The sacrifices contain the essence of the Moral Law. In two poems it is stated that the first sacrifice became the primal Moral Law:

> Gods performed the Sacrifice and those sacrifices became the primal Moral Laws.

14. (1) Pardon us O Rudra and then, produce happiness for us; we worship you who are the overlord of the heroes. Since Manu the father has performed the sacrifice for happiness and bliss, may we be able to attain to that pleasure and bliss when O Rudra, you give us guidance.

(2) What pure remedies you have, O Maruts, what produce the greatest happiness, the strong, the producer of welfare, what Manu our father has accepted, them we long for as belonging to Rudra in order that we may have happiness and freedom from suffering.

(3) That early friend of the great gods attained happiness through his intellectual powers; through his doors the father Manu sent up his thoughts to the gods.

(4) Indra has held the Soma stalk through our sons and with his strength; O Bṛhaspati, carry this person through the span of his life. This sacrifice

is our father Manu of great intelligence. We ask for eternal security from danger.

In many places we are not at all certain whether it is Manu himself that is meant or only man in general, and interpreters are not agreed on the point. Thus:

15. (1) O Maruts, may he become the foremost bird among the birds, the quick flying kite among the kites; because the bird has brought for Manu (or for man) the oblation which the gods love, with his own powers, without the aid of wheels.

(2) Agni (Fire) the friend quickly cooked three hundred buffaloes on account of his power. Indra drank together three lakes of Soma belonging to Manu (man) that had been pressed, so that he could kill Vṛtra.

It is mainly in the poems that are taken to be outside the genuine text of the *Ṛgveda*, the poems collected together as *Vālakhilya* (supplements) that we hear something about the parentage of Manu.

16. (1) Just as you have drunk, O Indra, the Soma from Manu the son of Saṁvaraṇa.

(2) Just as you have drunk, O Indra, the Soma from Manu the son of Vivasvat (given only as Vivasvat and not as Vaivasvata or son of Vivasvat).

In the *Atharvaveda* and in the *Brāhmaṇas*, he has definitely become the son of Vivasvat.

(3) Manu the son of Vivasvat became her son.

17. In the main part of the *Ṛgveda*, there is no mention of Manu as the son of Vivasvat. When it is said that Tvaṣṭar gave his daughter named Saraṇyū in marriage to Vivasvat,

there is no mention of Manu being a son of this pair; only the name of Yama occurs there as the son of Saraṇyū, the daughter of Tvaṣṭar and wife of Vivasvat. But Sāyaṇa narrates a story how Vivasvat had relations with a divine woman, mistaking her to be Saraṇyū herself and how the royal Sage Manu was born. It is only in the portions outside the genuine part of the *Ṛgveda* and in the *Atharvaveda* and in the *Brāhmaṇas* that we find mention of Manu as the son of Vivasvat (Vaivasvata). This term Vaivasvata occurs as the name of Yama in the *Ṛgveda*. Manu Vaivasvata occurs in contrast to Yama Vaivasvata in the *Brāhmaṇas*.

18. It has been shown that in the portions outside the genuine part of the *Ṛgveda*, there is the name Sāṁvaraṇi (son of Saṁvaraṇa) applied to Manu. There is also the name Sāvarṇya and Sāvarṇi associated with Manu in a poem in the *Ṛgveda*. In one verse the name Manu occurs and in two others that follow, the name that appears is Sāvarṇya and Sāvarṇi respectively. Both mean "son of Savarṇa or a descendent of Savarṇa." Some interpreters do not take the word Manu as a name, but only as meaning "man". The poet is Nābhānediṣṭha, son of Manu according to the indices. Nābhānediṣṭha is the author for two poems in the *Ṛgveda*. We have to accept him as the son of Manu on the authority of the indices. In his poem appears the following reference to Manu with his two other alternative names:

(1) May this Manu become great, may he grow like a seed. Because he has dedicated thousand, hundred horses for a gift on the same day.
(2) No one can reach up to him just like the high vault of the heavens. The gifts of Sāvarṇya (son of Savarṇi) spreads like an ocean.
(3) May not Manu, the leader of the villages, with gifts in thousands come to any grief. May his

> gift increase wide spreading like the sun. May the gods carry Sāvarṇi (son of Savarṇa) through his life span. From him we hope to receive gifts without a cessation.

According to the latter-day epics, Saṁvaraṇa is a king of the lunar race who came soon after Duṣyanta and his son Bharata. Sāvarṇi is meant to become the Manu after the period of the present Manu, the son of Vivasvat (Vaivasvata Manu), and Sāvarṇi is also a son of the Sun-god.

19. I do not know how I should look at the situation. Either there is a gap between the genuine portions of the *Ṛgveda* on one side and the supplementary portions of the *Ṛgveda* and the other parts of the Vedas like the *Atharvaveda* and the *Brāhmaṇas* on the other side, or if there is no such break and no such gap, there is the continuity of the traditions beginning from the earliest times to the latter-day epic period. One thing is certain and that is that the latter-day epic traditions go back to some of the parts of the vast Vedic literature.

20. Manu's name occurs in the *Ṛgveda* along with the names of a large number of Sages who are either poets who have contributed to the available collection or whose names are very prominent in the available collection. Some of the names that are very popular in the latter-day epics also find a place in the *Ṛgveda* along with the name of Manu. Agni is asked to visit the place of worship as he had been doing in the case of the worships conducted by Manu, Aṅgiras, and Yayāti. Yayāti figures in the *Mahābhārata* as one of the ancient heroes of the lunar dynasty; a large number of royal names that appear in the *Ṛgveda* are mentioned in the latter-day epics as coming after Yayāti in the line. Thus, Yadu and Turvaśu are the sons of Yayāti through his queen Devayānī and Druhyu, Pūru and Anu are his sons through the other queen Śarmiṣṭhā.

21. There are many places in the *Ṛgveda* where Manu is given as an example of a great person who had been worshipping the gods and who had pleased the gods through such worship:

(1) O Agni (Fire) O god, we keep you firm in our minds, you who help in the conduct of the worship, the invoker, the supremely wise, powerful, the undying messenger.
(2) The Aśvins are invoked to go to the place as to the place of worship of Manu.
(3) Agni is asked to go to them as they had done in the case of Manu; the same prayer is repeated in the next verse too.
(4) The seven rays of the Fire had extended as in the case of Manu.
(5) There is reference to the worship which the Fire is asked to approach, as he did in the case of Manu.
(6) Indra is asked to take delight in the Soma and to drink it as in the case of Manu.
(7) The Ṛbhus are asked to take delight in the worship as in the case of Manu, and there is a similar request to the same gods, about Soma which the poet was offering them.
(8) The poets have placed the Fire firm as Manu did, have kindled the Fire as Manu did and they ask the Fire to worship the gods as they did in the case of Manu.
(9) There is a request to Indra and Varuṇa to go to the place as they did in the case of Manu.
(10) As Manu had done, the poet glorifies the fire for the sake of the ritual.
(11) As in the case of Manu, the Fire is asked to perform the worship to the gods.

(12) The poets invoke Varuṇa after having pressed the Soma as Manu had done.
(13) The poets invoke the Fire, as did Manu, Bhṛgu and Aṅgiras.
(14) People kindle the Fire as Manu did.
(15) There is a prayer to the Aśvins and Indra as Manu had done.
(16) Iḷā is asked to take delight in the worship as in the case of Manu. Iḷā is again asked to take delight in the worship as in the case of Manu.

22. In this way, Manu as an example for the performance of the worship, kindling the Fire and pressing the Soma, is given in the entire text of the *Ṛgveda* from the beginning to the end, practically in all the books. Again the gods gave the Fire to Manu:

(1) The Fire whom the gods gave to Manu.
(2) Mātariśvan brought the Fire from the far distance for the sake of Manu.
(3) Kāvya Uśanas made the Fire the invoker for the sake of Manu.
(4) Mātariśvan created Fire for the sake of Manu.

Here also it is noted that the gods gave the Fire to Manu, thus meaning that Manu was the first to perform the worship which has later become the standard of the worship of the gods in the Vedas.

23. In the *Brāhmaṇas* there is the story of how the world was swept away in a deluge and how a fish saved Manu in a ship. Then Manu became the progenitor of humanity. The story of a deluge is found in the *Avesta* and also in the Semitic antiquities. Some say that it was borrowed by the Āryans (Vedas and Avesta) from the Semitic source; it may be the other way. It can as well be that there was a great civilization

in those times in developing which both the Āryans and the Semitic people had a share.

24. Manu appears in combination with the names of other ancient poets; they are Atri, Dadhyañc, Aṅgiras, Kaṇva, Priyamedha, Śayu, Sumitra and Syūmaraśmin. But in most of the places, Manu is given alone. In all the places I have cited, I am certain that the reference is to the man named Manu and not to man in general. The word occurs in many more places in the *Ṛgveda*. There is no doubt that he was one among the most ancient of the prominent personages known to the poets of the *Ṛgveda*. Nearly all the poets speak of him as the one person who had performed the worship which they themselves had been carrying on. There is nothing to show that the various poets of whom there is the mention along with the name of Manu were known to the poets as contemporaries of Manu. The very fact that in nearly all the places the name of Manu appears alone shows that they knew him to be one distinct from all the others. They could have known Manu only in tradition and they knew practically nothing about his personality and his parentage and other details.

25. We have to consider the question whether in the *Ṛgveda* itself we have mention of the same Manu in all the places or whether the poets of the *Ṛgveda* knew more than one Manu. In nearly all the occurrences Manu is mentioned alone without any other names like the name of the father. It is only in the portion of the *Ṛgveda* outside the genuine parts that we find a mention of Manu being the son of Saṁvaraṇa and of Savarṇa. Then in the *Atharvaveda* and in the *Brāhmaṇas* there is the Manu as Vaivasvata, the son of Vivasvat. Manu the son of Vivasvat and Yama the son of Vivasvat, thus, become brothers, with the same father and, according to the traditions maintained till the time of the later commentators, with different mothers. Yama was the son of

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Saraṇyū, the daughter of Tvaṣṭar and Manu was the son of another mother, who had a divine status. In the same story it is said that the Aśvins also were the sons of the same Vivasvat.

26. The *Purāṇas* speak of fourteen Manus who take the position one after the other. Six Manus have already occupied the position and they have given place to later Manus. The present Manu is Manu the son of Vivasvat. Then there are seven Manus to follow. The six Manus whose time has expired, are: Svāyambhuva, Svārocisa, Auttami, Tāmasa, Raivata and Cākṣusa. The seven Manus that will follow the present Manu are: Sāvarṇi, Dakṣa-sāvarṇi, Brāhma-Sāvarṇi, Dharma-Sāvarṇi, Rudra-Sāvarṇi, Deva-Sāvarṇi and Indra-Sāvarṇi. Thus all the Manus who will follow are Sāvarṇis. About the next Manu, Sāvarṇi, there is a story narrated in the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*; he was a great ruler who lived during the time of the second of the past six Manus, the Svārociṣa Manu.

27. There must have been recollections of various civilizations that preceded the present time civilization and this present time civilization had, according to them, its origin in the Manu whom we find in the *Ṛgveda*. The Vedic literature gives us no clue to the problem of the six past Manus. But the available Vedas do not exhaust the texts relating to the civilizations of which they had some recollections in later times. The Vedic poets knew of a Manu who was the son of Vivasvat, though there is no reference to him in the *Ṛgveda*. We have to accept the whole of the Vedic literature, original texts and the *Brāhmaṇas*, as a unity so far as culture is concerned. From the specific mention of Manu as the son of Vivasvat in the *Atharvaveda* and from the frequent mention of a Manu in the *Ṛgveda*, we may not be far wrong if we assume that the Manu in the *Ṛgveda* is the same Manu who is mentioned in the *Atharvaveda* and in the *Brāhmaṇas*. But the problem of the Manu who is the son of Saṁvaraṇa and the Manu who is the son of Sāvarṇi remains.

28. In the case of Manu, "the son of Saṁvaraṇa" found in the *Ṛgveda* cannot be a mistake for "son of Sāvarṇi". Now can the name Manu, son of Sāvarṇi found in the portions outside the genuine text be a mistake for "Manu, son of Saṁvaraṇa"? According to the *Purāṇas* (the Epics), Sāvarṇi, the Manu of the immediately succeeding period after the expiry of the period of the present Manu, is a son of the Sun-God, though not mentioned as Vivasvat. He is given as the son of Sūrya. But the prominent mention of a Manu in the *Ṛgveda* and the specific mention of Manu as the son of Vivasvat in the *Atharvaveda* and in the *Brāhmaṇas* and the mention of the present Manu as the son of Vivasvat, make me believe that the Manu of the *Ṛgveda* is the Manu, son of Vivasvat.

29. Then, we have to fix the mutual relation of Manu, the son of Vivasvat and Yama the son of Vivasvat. According to the story narrated by Sāyaṇa, Yama and Yamī were the first children of Vivasvat and Manu was born as the son of Vivasvat later. Can it be that Manu established the system of worship current in the Vedas, only after the time of Yama who had found the Path and who had gone to the other region? From the available evidence, it is certain that Yama was a follower of the Path of Vedic ritualism. Manu must have established the system of worship long before Yama found out the Path. When those modes of worship were proceeding, Yama must have had a special intuition and he must have found out the Path; that Path was not a rival to the earlier Path, not a protest against that. Yama found out the Path by following the system of worship that was in vogue at that time. This makes Manu far earlier than Yama.

30. Here I must point out that the birth of Manu, according to the tradition preserved and recorded by Sāyaṇa, had some connection with the *Uttara* (Northern) *Kurus*. There is no doubt about the relation of the name *Kuru* with *Kuruṣ* in

the Iranian tradition; that is what we now know as "Cyrus". In Old Persian inscriptions, the name appears as Kuruṣ. I mention this because there is some relation between Yama and the Iranian tradition. Yama appears in the *Avesta* as Yima, who was in communion with the great God Ahura Mazda. Ahura Mazda gives instructions to Yima in the *Avesta*. But there is no Manu in the *Avesta*. The name does not occur there at all.

31. But the Yima of later Iranian tradition, known as Jam-shid or Yima the king, is the exact counterpart of Manu in the Indian tradition. Both were kings and both instituted life according to the law of moral life suitable for civilized life, among humanity. Yima is not a very prominent personality in the *Avesta*. He does not appear very often in the text of the *Avesta*, not so often as the name of Yama or Manu appears in the *Ṛgveda*. The *Avesta* is a text specially related to Zarathushtra.

32. According to the Iranian tradition, Yima was the son of Vīvanhvant (Vivasvat). He ruled the country for a thousand years, when the land was happy, free from heat and cold, without diseases and death among men; but he had a rather unfortunate end and he had to spend the last days wandering about till his death. According to the *Shah Nameh* of Ferdousi, in composing which the poet depended on the material supplied from the Palhevi literature, he was the first king to introduce civilized life among humanity. Before that, there were the kings who along with the people lived a life of wild beasts, along with wild beasts as companions. The earlier kings according to the *Shah Nameh* were Kiyūmaret, Siyāmek, Hūshang and Tahmūrat; it was then that Jamshid came to the throne, and according to the *Shah Nameh*, he ruled the country for seven hundred years. He too had a misfortune at the end of his life and he lost his life through the treachery of a tyrant, by name Sehak, who ascended the throne.

33. In spite of the difference in name between Jamshid and Manu, we cannot miss the common features, both being sons of Vivasvat (Vīvanhvant) and both having established the law of moral life among humanity, suitable for civilized life. It must also be noted that we see no sort of parallelism between Yama of the *Ṛgveda* and Yima of the *Avesta*. It must also be taken notice of that just as Manu came into great prominence in Indian tradition only at a later stage, Yima also came into great prominence only at a later stage in the Iranian tradition. In spite of the evidence of the *Avesta* we cannot ignore the fact that in the whole range of the old Persian Inscriptions, there is no mention of Yama; and for the matter of that, Zarathushtra too is not mentioned in the Inscriptions. We see only the Great God Ahura Mazda and not his Messengers on the earth, Zarathushtra and Yima. Zarathushtra, according to the Iranian tradition, gave the teaching and Yima enforced moral life. In Indian tradition, Yama gave the teaching and Manu enforced the laws of moral life.

34. Even in later stages, the Law of Moral life was traced back to Manu in India. The real authority in India for Moral Life is the Code known by the name of Manu, what is called the *Manu-Smṛti*. It is not really what can be called a Code of Law, meant for administration in the country; it is just a presentation of the entire field of moral life for men to know. Manu goes back to the earliest times in the history of India and Manu remained prominent in Indian tradition through the ages, without a flicker, while Yama underwent changes. While Yama found the Path to go to the other world after death, it was for Manu to find out the laws of moral life when man lived on the earth. Thus we can say that while Yama is the first teacher for religion, in the sense that religion shows the way to a life of happiness in future, Manu was the first teacher for the civilization of India, and Indian religion is nothing but a mode of civilized life. Life at a later

stage after death serves only a very subordinate purpose in man's life in India. It is perhaps on account of this feature in Indian culture that Yama went out and Manu continued, gathering strength in the course of time.

35. Neither Yama nor Manu started civilized life in India; neither of them lifted humanity from a state of savage life among wild animals, into the light of civilization. Indian tradition does not know a stage in the life of humanity when there was no civilization; Indian tradition knows only a decline from the most civilized state of society to a life of sins and sufferings. Yama opened up a Path for humanity to traverse after the death of man and Manu must have given a shape and form to the life of his times. Making offerings in Fire for the propitiation of the gods, the materials to be used for such offerings, the utilisation of songs as an important factor in such worships, the various acts associated with the ritual of worship and such like matters might have been given a definite shape by Manu. It must have been the rituals as organised by Manu that was followed later by the people.

36. On the Iranian side, the function of Manu and the teachings of Yama got merged into each other and we have only Yama preserved in that tradition. The fact that both Manu and Yama happened to be the sons of Vivasvat might have helped in this merger. It is generally held that the *Avesta* represents an earlier phase of the civilization than what is found in the Vedas. But this is a matter that requires fresh investigation. I am of the view that it is in the Vedas that we meet with the original civilization and that in the *Avesta* we see the same culture influenced and altered by contact with foreign cultures on the western side, the Assyrian civilization of Semitic origin. Rather than a bifurcation of the *Avestan* Yima into a Manu and a Yama in the Vedas, both being accepted as the sons of Vivasvat, the greater probability is that Yama and Manu, both sons of Vivasvat, become merged

into each other to form a single Teacher in the person of Yima, son of Vīvanhvant. What is really important is that both Manu and Yama played their parts in two distinct fields within the region of Indian civilization, the two fields being extensions of the same region of culture, without any mutual conflict and without any mutual rivalry.

37. In this process of mutual merging between Yama and Manu for the formation of Yima in the Iranian tradition, later known as Jamshid, it is more the Manu aspect that has become prominent. Yama who found out the Path has little part in the Yima of the Iranian tradition. But there are certain features in Yama which continued in the Iranian tradition. Jamshid lost the favour of the Great God and he had to wander about, according to the *Avestan* and later traditions, and Jamshid had to meet with his death through a treachery according to other later traditions of Iran preserved in the Palhevi literature and utilised by Ferdousi in his *Shah Nameh.* In the Indian tradition too, Yama came into conflict with the Great God Śiva and had to suffer for this enmity with the God. But this common point is a very faint one.

38. Jamshid was treacherously killed by Sehak and Sehak came to the throne, according to the *Shah Nameh.* Sehak had two dragons on his shoulders. I do not know how far this can be traced to the nature of the Great God of India, Śiva, who too had serpents on his body. Ferdousi says that Sehak went to India to get cured of this deformity, and it was during this absence that a descendent of Jamshid went to him; that was Feridoon. This Sehak had two wives, a feature that we see in the Great God Śiva also in India. But the similarity ends here. The two wives of Sehak were the sisters of Jamshid whom he had managed to kill. Feridoon, after killing Sehak, married the two queens; Feridoon was born in another line and was not a direct descendent of

Jamshid. I have pointed out such matters only to show the relation between the Indian tradition and the Iranian tradition relating to Manu and Yama, and I took up the point in relation to Manu because I see more of Manu in the Iranian Yima (Jamshid) than of Yama himself.

39. In India itself, Manu had a greater hold on the mind of the people than what Yama had. Like Yama, the name Manu must have been what he acquired through his genius and it could not have been his personal name. We do not know what the original name could have been. I have indicated in earlier chapters that there are other teachers and philosophers who had acquired a name later, different from the original name, on account of certain associations and certain traits in character.

40. It has already been suggested that there are different Manus in the Veda. There is a simple Manu without any appellation. Then in the *Atharvaveda* and in the *Brāhmaṇas*, also in later Sanskrit literature, there is Manu the son of Vivasvat (Vaivasvata). In the portions of the *Ṛgveda* outside the genuine part, there is mentioned a Manu as the son of Savarṇa and another as the son of Saṁvaraṇa. So far as the Manu is concerned who will have the name of Sāvarṇi, the story is found in the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*, one of the eighteen epics known in Sanskrit literature; like the Vaivasvata Manu who is in the position now, this Sāvarṇi Manu too is a son of Vivasvat or the Sun-god, as is made clear in the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*. He was originally a king in the time of the second of the Manus, the Svārociṣa Manu.

41. Each Manu lives in that position for such a long period that it is difficult to state the duration in language. There are various places in Sanskrit literature where the calculation is given. According to the *Amara Kośa*, the standard Lexicon in Sanskrit the calculation is as seventy-one divine *Yugas*. Manu says that a *Yuga* is ten thousand years and

twelve thousand such *Yugas* will be a divine *Yuga;* according to *Amara Kośa*, two thousand divine *Yugas* will form a day for the Creator (*Brahmā*). These are all later calculations when the conception of time had undergone great changes among the Indians. It was when time began to be calculated in terms of such long periods that men were supposed to have been living for many thousands of years. But in the Veda itself, man lived only for a hundred years. And it is certain that the Manu and the Yama had to depart from this world after a lapse of a maximum of a hundred years. We know only his life after death in the case of Yama, and in the case of Manu, we know only about his life on the earth. Both of them must have been great teachers of very ancient times, whose fame continued even in the Vedic times; they themselves must have lived long prior to the days of the Vedas.

VI. AṄGIRAS

1. The word Aṅgiras occurs in the *Ṛgveda* in many places and it is found both in the singular and in the plural numbers, like the word Manu. In the singular it is not the name of a certain poet of old; in many places it is applied to the Fire-God (Agni) who is addressed as Aṅgiras in the vocative case. We cannot deal with the word in the singular as the name of a certain ancient poet; but in the plural we can deal with the word as the name of a number of poets who are either direct genealogical descendents of an original poet of that name or as the members of a certain School of thought originated by him. Most of the poems contained in the collection that we have now with us as the *Ṛgveda* text consist of the contributions of some great poets and of a large number of poets who have gathered round them; they may be the descendents of the great poets or their disciples and other members of the School known by the name of those great poets. Aṅgiras himself might have been a great poet of the very ancient times, but no poem of his is included in the *Ṛgveda* collection now known to us. The available text of the *Ṛgveda* shows evidence of the great influence which an original poet of the name of Aṅgiras had exerted in the development of the civilization reflected in the *Ṛgveda*. But there are many who bear the name of Aṅgiras as a " Family Name ", appearing in the available *Ṛgveda* text as poets of considerable importance. Their number is near to fifty as known to us from the available text of the *Ṛgveda*. But when we have the word Aṅgiras in the plural, it is not any of them that is designated; they are all very ancient poets known to

the poets of the *Ṛgveda* period. Their individual names are not known to us at present.

The word Aṅgiras has been equated with the English word Angel, the Greek word being Aggelos, pronounced as Angelos. It means a messenger. Agni, the Fire-God, is known as the messenger who mediates between the worshippers and the gods, and he may have that name associated with him because that God is the messenger of the gods and is very well known in the *Ṛgveda* as the *Dūta*, the messenger. The original Aṅgiras who gave the name to the group of poets both in the ancient times and in the *Ṛgveda* period, might have been known as the mediator or messenger going between gods and men, and it is not unlikely that he was known by that name on account of this function.

3. It is better that we consider the places where the word occurs in the plural number, where there is no doubt about the meaning. The word always refers to a certain group of ancient poets. I note that in many cases there is some sort of similarity in ideas and even in words. So I cite the actual passages in the text itself for easy reference and check up. I also give the poet in whose contribution to the extant *Ṛgveda* text the passage belongs.

1. *tvam gotram angirobhyo 'vṛnor apetātraye śataduresu gātuvit.*

   You broke open the cow-stall for the sake of the Aṅgirases and also for Atri, finding out a path through a hundred doors..

This is by Savya of the Aṅgiras Family.

2. *yenā naḥ pūrve pitaraḥ padajñā arcanto aṅgiraso gā avindan.*

   Whereby our ancient fore-fathers, who know the position, through songs of adoration secured the cows.

3. *indrasyāṅgirasāñ ceṣṭau vidat saramā tanayāya dhāsim.*

When Indra and the Aṅgirases were making the search, Saramā found out the food for her son.

4. *gṛṇāno aṅgirobhir dasma vi var uṣasā sūryeṇa gobhīr andhaḥ.*

Being sung about by the Aṅgirases, you (Indra) broke open the darkness through dawn and through the sun.

The above three passages are by Nodhas son of Gotama.

5. *vīḷu cid dṛḷhā pitaro na ukthair adrim rujann aṅgiraso raveṇa.*

Our fore-fathers the Aṅgirases, broke up the mountain, even strong and firm, through their songs of praise, through their sound.

This is said by Parāśara, son of Śakti, who was the son of Vasiṣṭha.

6. *so aṅgirobhir aṅgirastamo bhūd vṛṣā vṛsabhiḥ sakhibhiḥ sakhā san.*

He became the greatest Aṅgiras among the Aṅgirases, the strongest among the strong, the best friend among the friends.

This is by five poets, sons of Vṛṣagīr.

7. *upa no deva avasā gamantv 'aṅgirasām sāmabhiḥ stūyamānaḥ.*

May the gods come hither to us with protection in their hands, being praised by the songs of the Aṅgirases.

This is by Kutsa of the Aṅgiras family.

8. *kad itthā nṝḥ pātram devayatām śravad giro aṅgirasām turaṇyan.*

May he (Indra) listen to the words of the Aṅgirases and take heed of the heroes and the vessels of offering belonging to those who are fond of the gods.

9. *nakṣad dhavam aruṇīḥ pūrvyam rāṭ turo viśām aṅgirasām anu dyūn.*

He (Indra) accepted the invocations of the ancient times, the bright, the king, the quick moving, the invocations of the Aṅgirases, day by day.

The two passages above are from Kakṣīvān, son of Dīrghatamas.

10. *yajiṣṭham tvā yajamānā havema jyeṣṭham aṅgirasām vipra manmabhih.*

We the worshippers invoke you (Agni) the greatest among the Aṅgirases.

This is by Parucchepa, son of Divodāsa. Here Agni is the greatest among the Aṅgirases and this has no reference to the poets. Yet I give it as one instance.

11. *yad aṅgirobhyo avṛṇor apa vrajam.*

When you broke open the cow-stall for the sake of the Aṅgirases.

This too is by Parucchepa.

12. *yad dha tyam aṅgirobhyo dhenum devā adattana.*

When the gods gave that cow to the Aṅgirases.

This too is by the same.

13. *bhinad valam aṅgirobhir gṛṇānaḥ.*

He (Indra) broke open the cave, being praised by the Aṅgirases.

This is by Gṛtsamada of the Aṅgiras family.

14. *so aṅgirasām ucathā jujuṣvān brahmā tūtod indro gātum iṣṇan.*

That Indra being pleased by the songs of the Aṅgirases, pressed forward when searching for the path.

This too is by Gṛtsamada.

15. *ime bhojā aṅgiraso virūpā divas putrāso asurasya vīrāh.*

These rich people, the Aṅgirases, the Virūpas, the sons of the heaven, the heroes of the great god.

This is by Viśvāmitra.

16. *divas putrā aṅgiraso bhavemādrim rujema dhaninam śucantaḥ.*

May we become the Aṅgirases, the sons of the heaven, may we break open the mountain full of riches, shining brightly.

17. *apo yad adrim puruhūta dardar āvir bhuvad saramā pūrvyam sa no netā vājam ā darṣi bhūri gotrā rujan aṅgirobhir gṛṇānaḥ.*

When you broke open the mountain where there were the waters, O Indra invoked by many, then Saramā brought out your ancient wealth. May he be our leader, give us immense riches, breaking open the cow-stall being sung about by the Aṅgirases.

These two are by Vāmadeva, son of Gotama.

18. *tvam agne aṅgiraso guhā hitam anvavindac chiśriyāṇam vane vane.*

> O Agni, when you were concealed in the cave, the Aṅgirases brought you out, when you were lying in forest and in forest.

This is by Sutambhara of the Atri Family.

19. *viśve asya vyuṣi māhināyāḥ sam yad gobhir aṅgiraso navanṭa utsa āsām parame sadhasthe ṛtasya pathā saramā vidad gāḥ.*

> When this adorable goddess broke out (Dawn) all the Aṅgirases sang in praise with their voices. Saramā found the cows in the receptacle, the highest position, going along the path of the law.

This is by Sadāpṛṇa of the Atri Family.

20. *tan naḥ pratnam sakhyam astu yuṣme itthā vadadbhir valam aṅgirobhiḥ. han acyutacyud dasmeṣayantam ṛṇoḥ puro vi duro asya viśvāḥ.*

> "Let our that companionship be for you"—along with the Aṅgirases who are speaking in this way, you (Indra) killed Vala whom he was searching for, O strong one, you burst all his forts and the doors.

21. *idā hi ta uṣa adrisāno gotrā gavām aṅgiraso gṛṇanti vy arkeṇa bibhidur brahmaṇā ca satyā nṛṇām abhavad devahūtih.*

> Now indeed, the Aṅgirases sing about you in the stall of the cows, O Dawn, sitting on the mountains as on a throne. They burst you open with their songs and with their adorations. The invocations to the gods done by the heroes became true.

These two are by Bharadvāja, son of Bṛhaspati.

22. *pra brahmāṇo aṅgiraso nakṣanta.*

The poets, the Aṅgirases, accepted.

23. *dadhikrāvā prathamo vājy arvāgre rathānām bhavati prajānan saṁvidāna uṣasā suryeṇādityebhir vasubhir aṅgirobhiḥ.*

Dadhikrāvan, the first among the victorious horses, stands in front of the chariots knowing his position, knowing along with the Dawn, with the sun, with the sons of Aditi, with the Vasus, with the Aṅgirases.

24. *turaṇyavo 'ṅgiraso nakṣanta.*

The fast moving Aṅgirases accepted.

These three are by Vasiṣṭha.

25. *ud gā ājad aṅgirobhya āviṣkṛṇvan guhā satīḥ arvāñcam nunude valam.*

He (Indra) hurried up the cows for the sake of the Aṅgirases bringing them to the presence when they were in the cave. He drove out the modern Vala.

This is by Goṣūkti and Aśvasūkti of the Kaṇva family.

26. *sa vidvān aṅgirobhya indro gā avṛṇod apa.*

Indra, knowing their position, opened the stall for the cows.

This is by Pragātha of the Kaṇva family.

27. *tvam indo pari srava svādiṣṭho aṅgirobhyaḥ.*

O Soma, may you flow all around, the sweetest, for the sake of the Aṅgirases.

This is by Jamadagni of the Bhṛgu family.

28. *soma gotram aṅgirobhyo 'vṛṇor apa.*

O Soma, you broke open the cow-stall for the sake of the Angirases.

This is by the Pṛśnis, also called Ajāḥ, a group of poets.

29. *ye yajñena dakṣinayā samakta indrasya sakhyam amṛtatvam ānaśa tebhyo bhadram angiraso vo astu.*

Let there be auspiciousness to you, O Aṅgirases, who took to the worship of the right nature, who attained the companionship of Indra and immortality.

30. *subrahmaṇyam aṅgiraso vo astu.*

Let there be the honour of great poets to you O Aṅgirases.

31. *virūpāsa ṛṣayas ta id gambhīravepasaḥ. te aṅgirasaḥ sūnavas te agneḥ pari jajñire.*

They are the poets named Virūpas; they have great poetic talents. They are the Aṅgirases, the sons. They were born of the fire.

These three are addressed to the Aṅgirases by the poet named Nābhānediṣṭha, son of Manu.

32. *ṛtam śaṁsanta ṛju dīdhyānā divas putrāso asurasya vīrāḥ vipram padam aṅgiraso dadhānā yajñasya dhāma prathamam mananta.*

Praising the Law, thinking intensely in a straightforward way, the sons of heaven, the heroes of the great god, holding the position of inspired poets, the Aṅgirases for the first time thought of the position of the worship.

This is by Ayāsya of the Aṅgiras family.

33. *deva tvaṣṭar yad dha cārutvam ānad yad aṅgirasām abhavaḥ sacābhūḥ.*

O divine Tvaṣṭar (architect) that you have attained to beauty that you have become associates of the Aṅgirases.

This is by Sumitra, son of Vadhyaśvi.

34. *aśvāso na ye jyeṣṭhāsa āśavo didhiṣavo na rathyaḥ sudānavaḥ*
apo na nimnair udabhir jigatnavo viśvarūpā aṅgiraso na sāmabhiḥ.

Who (the Maruts) are fast moving like the best among the horses, rushing forward like charioteers who make good gifts, like waters going down a slope in a flood, of various forms like the Aṅgirases with their songs.

This is by Syūmaraśmin of the Bhṛgu family.

35. *eha gamann ṛṣayaḥ somasitā ayāsyo aṅgiraso navagvāḥ ta etam ūrvam vi bhajanta gonām athaitad vācaḥ paṇayo vamann it.*

There may come hither the poets made sharp through the Soma, Ayāsya, Aṅgirases, Navagvas. They may apportion to themselves the seat of the cows; then this word, the Paṇis will utter out.

36. *nāham veda bhrātṛtvam no svasṛtvam indro viduḥ aṅgirasaś ca ghorāḥ.*

I do not know their fraternal relations, their relations as sisters; Indra knows it and the terrible Aṅgirases know it.

These two passages are from a poem assigned by the ancient indices to the Paṇis, the enemies of the Vedic people.

37. *indro mahnā mahato arṇavasya vratāmināḍ aṅgirobhir gṛṇānaḥ.*

Indra, sung about by the Aṅgirases, with his own great ordinance measured out that of the mighty ocean.

This is by Vairūpa Aṣṭādaṁṣṭra (with eight teeth).

38. *yaḥ sarūpā ekarūpā yāsām agnir iṣṭyā nāmāni veda yā aṅgirasas tapaseha cakṛus tābhyaḥ parjanya mahi śarma yaccha*

Those that are of similar appearance, that are of different appearances, that are of identical appearances, whose names the Fire knew through worship, whom the Aṅgirases brought here with their penance, O Parjanya, grant them great happiness.

This is by Śabara, son of Kakṣīvān, who was the son of Dīrghatamas.

4. In the above passages, thirty-eight in number, the great achievements of the Aṅgirases, as collaborators of Indra in the recovery of the cows hidden in a cave by the Paṇis, have been described, along with their special feature as singers of praises to the gods, especially to Indra. Now, there are various places where the poets speak of their performance along the traditions of the Aṅgirases, as in the case of Manu.

(1) Like Manu, O Agni, like the Aṅgiras.

This passage has already been noted in dealing with Manu.

(2) Praskaṇva, son of Kaṇva approaches Agni to listen to his invocations as in the case of Priyamedha, Atri, Virūpa, Aṅgiras.

(3) Nodhas of Gotama family sings of Indra like Aṅgiras.
(4) Rahūgaṇa of the Gotama family invokes Agni like Aṅgiras.
(5) Gṛtsamada asks his audience to worship Indra as Aṅgiras had done.
(6) The poet says that he had served Indra as did Aṅgiras. The poet is given either as Kuśika, son of Iṣīratha or Viśvāmitra, son of Gāthin (the latter belongs to the former's line).
(7) Ṛjiśvān of the Bharadvāja family asks the Maruts to go to him and to give him what is uniform in large quantities, approaching him as to Aṅgiras.
(8) Nābhāka of the Kaṇva family sings about Indra and Agni like Mandhātar and Aṅgiras.
(9) Virūpa of the Aṅgiras family invokes Agni like Bhṛgu and like Aṅgiras.

In all the above cases, the words may be the name of the individual Aṅgiras and not of a group. It is given along with other individuals. Here we have perhaps a direct mention of the original individual named Aṅgiras in these cases.

5. There are two places where Indra is spoken of as having burst open the cow-stall with the help of the Aṅgirases, in the company of Aṅgiras (Aṅgirasvān), as having released the cows in the company of the Aṅgiras; in one place the Aśvins, in the company of Aṅgirases, in the company of Viṣṇu and in the company of the Maruts, are invoked to go to the singer.

6. In these cases, it is perhaps necessary to take the word as signifying the group and not the individual person, since the point of bursting open the cave where the Paṇis had concealed the cows and releasing of the cows has been related to the word in the plural in a large number of cases, noted above.

7. There are many places where the word Aṅgiras appears in the vocative case and in nearly all the cases, it is addressed to Agni; in many of the occurrences the word comes along with Agni too in the vocative by its side. But there are two cases where I am not quite sure. The word must have been used to signify the Fire because the Fire is the messenger of the poets, the mediator between the poets and the gods. This shows that the word had the meaning of " messenger " even in the Vedas. Aṅgiras must have been called by that name because he must have been the mediator between gods and men. The whole group must also have functioned in that way.

8. In this context I may consider the point whether the Aṅgiras was a semi-mythological, semi-divine personage of the Indo-European times since the word occurs in the same sense in Greek also. My own view is that the entire Vedic civilization had its origin as well as development within India; perhaps the India of the Vedas was wider than the latter-day India, extending further to the west than in later times. There can be no trace in the Vedas of any condition of the Indo-European period. If it is an Indo-European element preserved in the Vedas, like the terms Dyaus and Dyaus-pitar, then how is it that there is no trace of it in the Iranian tradition? It is generally held that the course of development has been from the Indo-European stage through Iranian to Indian (Vedic). The absence of such an important factor in the religion of India in the middle stage in the Iranian period requires some explanation. There is nothing improbable in the position that the Aṅgiras was an Indian teacher of very ancient times, that he was a Mediator between men and gods and that the Greeks took the element from the Indian religion; the Greeks could not have been ignorant of the religion of India when they started and developed their civilization, in the beginning of the first millennium before Christ.

9. Aṅgiras is a term applied to Agni (Fire) as well as to an ancient teacher. There are two, out of the many occurrences of the word in the vocative, where there is a doubt, where the word cannot signify Agni (Fire). I take the two passages for examination. If it does not mean Fire, then it must mean the teacher Aṅgiras.

1. *yābhir aṅgiro manasā niraṇyatho 'gram gacchatho vivare goarṇasaḥ*
   yābir manum śūram iṣā samāvatam tābhir ū ṣu ūtibhir aśvinā gatam.

   O Aṅgiras whereby you two (Aśvins) were immensely propitiated, you went to the top of the cave full of cows, whereby you two protected Manu the hero with the weapons, O Aśvins, come hither with such protections.

The vocative cannot be an address to the Aśvins. Sāyaṇa feels the difficulty and says that the vocative is outside the sentence and that it is addressed to himself, so that he may praise the Aśvins; the poet is Kutsa of the Aṅgiras family. So he can address himself by this term. Modern interpretation is that the singular is used in addressing the Aśvins.

2. *gavām gotram ud asṛjo yad aṅgiraḥ.*

   O Aṅgiras, when you burst open the stall of the cows.

This is addressed to Bṛhaspati and Bṛhaspati is known in the Vedic exegesis as belonging to the Aṅgiras family. This is quite possible and the address is to Bṛhaspati as Aṅgiras. Except in these two places, the address by the vocative of Aṅgiras is to the Fire (Agni).

10. There is the term Aṅgirastama, the best of the Aṅgirases, the best messenger, occurring in some places. In most of them it relates to Agni (Fire); there are two places where it

relates to Indra, once to Soma and once to the Navagva and Daśagva. Indra is spoken of as Aṅgirastama since he is closely associated with them, and the passage has been given as the 6th in the 38 citations of the word Aṅgiras in the plural. Soma is perhaps taken as a mediator between men and the gods, and the term Aṅgiras is understandable. Navagvas and Daśagvas are closely allied to the Aṅgiras. I cannot understand why the Uṣas (Dawn) is spoken of as an Aṅgiras, the greatest Aṅgiras (Aṅgirastamā). The Dawn is never a mediator between gods and men; Dawn is one of the greatest and one of the most important of the divinities in the *Ṛgveda*. Perhaps the word had acquired the general meaning of "one who brings light, illumination, to man."

11. Practically in all the passages cited about the Aṅgirases as a group, there is the reference to their songs, to their invocations. They are spoken of as *Brāhmaṇa* (Poets). Breaking open the stall (*Gotra*) for the sake of the Aṅgirases is another feature found in nearly all the passages above. The winning or letting out the cows is also associated with this breaking the cow-stall open; the cow-stall is also spoken of as the mountain.

12. The Aṅgirases are spoken of as the ancient fathers (*pūrve pitaraḥ*). They are also the sons of heaven and the heroes of the great god (*Divas putrāḥ* and *Asurasya vīrāh*). Vala is also mentioned as having been killed by Indra when the Aṅgirases helped him with their songs. There is mention of the search for the Path and the knowledge of the position. The Aṅgirases acquired immortality. There is the divine Saramā, the mother of the two dogs that watch the gates of Yama, who discovered the place where the cows were hidden. Aṅgirases are associated also with Soma, with Uṣas, with Dadhikrāvan (a horse) and with Tvaṣṭar (the divine architect). They it was that first knew the worship (*yajñasya dhāma*). There is also the mention of the ancient possession (*Pūṛvyam*) in two of the passages.

13. Killing Vala and releasing the cows that had been stolen by the Paṇis and hidden in the cave or in the mountain is one of the most popular exploits of Indra found in the *Ṛgveda*, which has a parallel in importance and frequency only in the other exploit of killing Vṛtra and letting loose the waters to flow in the seven rivers (*Sapta Sindhu*). Water is associated with the *Antarikṣaloka* (the atmospheric region) and light is associated with the heavenly region (*Dyuloka*). The waters that were stopped by Vṛtra and that were released by Indra by killing Vṛtra must be some sort of happiness which the men on the earth had been looking for; similarly, the light released by killing Vala who had concealed it behind the mountain or in the cave is another and perhaps the higher happiness which men had been looking for.

14. The Aṅgirases are related to this second exploit of Indra in which the light, the cows, were released after killing Vala. Songs are very closely related to this exploit. It is noted that in the other exploit, Indra had the assistance of the Maruts, the group of seven gods, and the Maruts are closely related to the Soma drinking. Just as in killing Vala, Indra is spoken of as being a companion of the Aṅgirases (Aṅgirasvān), in killing Vṛtra, Indra is a companion of the Maruts (Marutvān). The Aṅgirases became immortal on account of this companionship with Indra.

15. Just as Yama found out the Path for the first time and Manu established the system of worship followed in the Vedic times, what is most important in the case of the Aṅgirases is that they discovered the light. They were also great poets and this is the feature that is most frequently associated with their companionship of Indra in killing Vala. The light is the light of wisdom. The Aṅgirases brought light to humanity. It is the light in this world, how to live a civilized life on the earth. Manu was associated with the activities

of man along with the law of moral life and the Aṅgirases were associated with wisdom in the world.

16. There is no place in the *Ṛgveda* where the word Aṅgiras is used definitely in the sense of an individual bearing that name who could be the centre of the group known as the Aṅgirases. In the singular, the word is applied mainly to the Agni, the Fire-God. It is also applied to some other gods, as stated before. In the compound word Aṅgirasvat, " Like Aṅgiras ", it may be the singular designating the individual Aṅgiras since the other words given along with this word are all names of individuals. Similarly, there is the compound word Aṅgirasvān " companions of Aṅgiras ". Here also it can mean the individual Aṅgiras. But the difficulty is that Indra is given definitely as associated with the Aṅgirases in the plural number designating a group, as helpers in his fight against Vala. Therefore the word Aṅgirasvān, " Companions of Aṅgiras ", must be taken to mean the group of the poets with the name of Aṅgiras and not an individual. In that case, the better choice will be to accept the term as designating the group even in the compound form Aṅgirasvat, " Like the Angiras ". This will mean that there was no individual poet by that name; they must have been a group bearing that name. They were all poets. They must also have been the associates of Yama. In the poem about Yama in the heaven, it had been said that " our ancient fore-fathers (*naḥ pūrve pitaraḥ*) " had gone there; they might be the Aṅgirases and not any persons in general as the fore-fathers of the people. And the Aṅgirases are spoken of by that very term.

17. The function of the Aṅgirases and of Yama is more or less the same; the Aṅgirases helped Indra in discovering the light that had been hidden by the evil forces in the world, namely Vala. Yama found out the Path. That too must be some sort of illumination. I do not want to stretch matters too far; yet I cannot resist a temptation to assume that Yama

was a king on the earth and that the Aṅgirases were poets known to him, who were his companions also in the cultural matters. They discovered the light of wisdom and he found out the Path through the illumination of the light discovered by the poets. Yama too was a lover of poetry and song. He is not definitely mentioned as a poet by terms like *Kavi* and *Vipra*. But the fact that the poem is ascribed to him in the ancient indices shows that there was a tradition of Yama having been a poet too. In the case of the Aṅgirases, poetry and singing form their chief traits. Indra was able to kill Vala and recover the cows (light or rather light of wisdom) for the Aṅgirases. It is the poets who founded the civilization of the country and it is the poets who maintained the civilization of the country. Yama found out the Path in the company of the poets called the Aṅgirases; I have already suggested that Yama must have been a ruler on the earth when he discovered the Path. He made the discovery not as a king but as the companion of poets.

18. Yama's name appears in a few poems and also in a very few places outside those poems. In the case of Manu and the Aṅgirases, there is no specific poem relating to them; they are mentioned by nearly all the poets in the *Ṛgveda* as the ancient fathers (both Manu and the Aṅgirases are spoken of as father). There is no clue to decide whether Manu and the Angirases were companions, contemporaries working together to establish a civilization. Yama is considered to be a half-brother of Manu and he is also a close companion of the Aṅgirases and a co-worker of theirs. From this the probability is that Manu and the Aṅgirases were contemporaries and collaborators in their work of establishing the civilization. They had different functions; Manu established the system of the worship, the rituals, that became the standard in the Vedic tradition and the Aṅgirases discovered the light of wisdom, hidden by the wicked people. With

this light, Yama had his illumination and he discovered the Path, along which the people went over to the other world.

19. We know more about Manu, among the three, than about Yama and the Aṅgirases regarding what they actually established as teachers and as founders of a civilization. Manu gave the form to the system of worship which became well established among the people. This system of worship should not be taken merely in its narrow sense of a system of ritual. The system was representative of a system or moral law. The actual ritual was only a part of the moral law. In later times Manu was not known as the institutor of the system of worship followed in the Vedic tradition; he is known as having fixed the standards of moral life for a civilized nation. The Path discovered by Yama cannot be anything other than the system of moral life instituted by Manu. The light of wisdom discovered by the Aṅgirases, the Path discovered by Yama and the system of moral life established by Manu cannot be different factors; they all mean the same. They are different facets of a unified civilization.

20. Yama and the Aṅgirases went over to the other world and there they enjoyed life, visiting the earth on the occasions of the worships conducted by men on the earth and accepting the offerings which they made to the gods. But Manu does not seem to have gone over to that region; there is no mention of it when he is spoken of in the *Ṛgveda* by the poets. Manu, it seems, continued to rule humanity on the earth for long periods.

21. We do not know what length of time elapsed after the departure of the Aṅgirases and of Yama to the other region through the Path which Yama discovered and through the illumination which the Aṅgirases released from the eclipse caused by the wicked people. Posterity remembered them all and worshipped them as their ancient Fathers, a term applied mainly to the Aṅgirases and to Manu.

22. The Aṅgirases and Yama left behind no dogmas, no doctrines which man had to believe. There is no text attributed to them as teachings given to humanity. Their presence in the world is the foundation for the civilization of the nation and not any set of dogmas or doctrines.

23. Although there are no poems of the original Aṅgiras, if there was such a one, or any of the group known as the Aṅgirases, left to us, there is a rich heritage of poetry from the members of the Family bearing that name. The *Ṛgveda* is divided into ten Books; in the seven Books from the second to the first half of the eighth, there are seven poets who have contributed the poems in those Books along with the members of their families. In the first Book, in the latter part of the eighth Book and in the ninth Book and in the tenth Book there are many poets appearing who bear the Family name of Aṅgiras. Poets bearing this name appear in the other six Books also. Among them appear some of the most famous names in the *Ṛgveda* and as such it is worthwhile to examine the whole range of poets bearing the name of Aṅgiras.

(1) Hiraṇyastūpa, I-31 to 35.
(2) Savya, I-51 to 57.
(3) Kutsa, I-94 to 98 and 101 to 115.
(4) Gṛtsamada. He is the chief poet in the second Book; later he became Śaunaka of the Bhṛgu Family; he is also known as the son of Śunahotra, belonging to the Bharadvāja Family. But Gṛtsamada himself belongs to the Aṅgiras Family. He is the poet for II-1 to 3 and 8 to 43; he also appears in the eighth Book, along with the other members of the Aṅgiras family.
(5) Ghora III-36-10. He is the poet only for this one verse in a poem by Viśvāmitra.
(6) Dharuṇa, V-15.

(7) Prabhūvasu V-35 and 36. The Book belongs to the members of the Atri Family.

(8) Vihavya, VI-15. The book belongs to the family of Bharadvāja. The indices give Bharadvāja as alternative.

(9) Saśvatī, VIII-1-34. This is the only verse by this poetess. The other verses are by members of the Kaṇva family.

(10) Priyamedha, VIII-2-1 to 40. He is the joint author along with Medhātithi of the Kaṇva family. The early part of the Book belongs to the members of the Kaṇva family.

(11) Vyaśva, VIII-26. The alternative poet is given as Viśvamanas, son of the Vyaśva; both are members of the Aṅgiras family.

(12) Vasurociṣaḥ, VIII-34-16 to 18. The poem is by Nīpātithi of the Kaṇva family and the three verses are ascribed to Vasurociṣaḥ who belong to the Aṅgiras family.

(13) Virūpa, VIII-43 and 44 and 75.

Priyamedha, VIII-68, 69, 87; his name already appeared as the joint author of verses in the 2nd poem of this Book, and his name was already given as No. 10 above. His name will again appear in the ninth Book.

(14) Puruhanma, VIII-70.

(15) Suditi ⎫ They are given as joint or alternative
(16) Purumīlḥa ⎭ authors for VIII-71.

(17) Kṛṣṇa, VIII-85, 86. He is given as alternative with Vasiṣṭha's son Dyumni for VIII-87.

(18) Nṛmedha ⎫ They are given as joint authors of
(19) Purumedha ⎭ VIII-89, 90.

(20) Śrutakakṣa
(21) Sukakṣa
They are given as alternatives in VIII-92. Sukakṣa is given as the poet in VIII-93.

(22) Bindu
(23) Pūtadakṣa
They are given as alternative poets in VIII-94. The first name may also be written as Vindu.

(24) Tiraścīḥ, VIII-96. His name is given as alternative to Dyutāna.

Nṛmedha VIII-98, 99. His name already appeared as No. 18, being made a joint poet with Purumedha. His name will again appear in the ninth Book.

Hiraṇyastūpa, IX-4, 69. His name already appeared as the poet in the first Book for many poems, as No. 1.

Nṛmedha, IX-27, 29. His name already appeared as No. 18, and also later in the VIII Book.

Priyamedha, IX-28. His name already appeared as No. 10 and later in the VIII Book.

Bindu, IX-30. Already appeared as No. 22.

(25) Rahūgaṇa, IX-37, 38.
(26) Ayāsya IX-44 to 46. His name will appear in the tenth Book.
(27) Ucathya, IX-50 to 52.
(28) Amahīyu, IX-61.
(29) Pavitra, IX-67-22 to 32. His name is given as alternative to Vasiṣṭha. He is again the poet for IX-73, 83.

Hiraṇyastūpa, IX-69. His name already appeared as No. 1 and later in IX-4.

(30) Harimanta, IX-72.

Kutsa, IX-97-45 to 58. His name already appeared as No. 3.

(31) Uru, IX-108-4, 5.
(32) Śiśu, IX-112.

Kṛṣṇa, X-42 to 44. The name already appeared as No. 17.

(33) Saptagu, X-47.

Ayāsya, X-67, 68. Already appeared as No. 28.

(34) Bṛhaspati, X-71, 72. The latter is attributed alternatively to Bṛhaspati Laukya. There is the Cārvāka system also known as Lokāyatika, and it is attributed to Bṛhaspati, and this may be that Bṛhaspati.
(35) Mūrdhanvān, X-88. He is also given as belonging to the Vāmadeva family.
(36) Baru X-96. He is put as alternative to Sarvahari, son of Indra. The name is also written Varu.
(37) Divya, X-107.
(38) Bhikṣu, X-117.
(39) Vihavya, X-128.
(40) Pracetas, X-164.
(41) Saṁvarta, X-172.
(42) Dhruva, X-173.
(43) Abhivarta, X-174.
(44) Saṁvanana, X-191.

24. The above list shows what a great influence the Aṅgirases must have exerted in the development of the Indian civilization. It has already been shown that Yama had more or less left off his original position which he had occupied in the Vedas. A few poets of the *Ṛgveda* belong to the family of Yama; I do not know whether they were the sons of Yama or only the descendents of Yama in his family or only members of the school of Yama. It was shown that the poem about Yama in the tenth Book where Yama is described as ruling over the Heaven, is attributed to Yama himself as author. The poems of nearly all the members of the Yama family come

close to this poem, a few being in the same tenth Book, slightly detached from this poem. Yama does not figure in the other parts of the *Ṛgveda* prominently; he is more or less confined to a particular portion of the *Ṛgveda*, the tenth Book. But Manu figures as a very prominent personality in the whole range of the *Ṛgveda*, from the beginning to the end; nearly all poets mention him as the ideal for the performance of the worship which they had been following. There are four poets mentioned as belonging to the family of Manu in the *Ṛgveda*.

25. In the case of the Aṅgiras, the number of poets belonging to the family is rather amazing. This list does not take note of the poets who should have belonged to that family, but who are not given that appellation. Thus there are two poets, Durmitra and Sumitra who are noted as sons of Kutsa or as members of the Kutsa family; Kutsa himself belongs to the Aṅgiras family while these two poets are not so noted. The members of the Gṛtsamada family figuring prominently in the second Book are not noted as members of the Aṅgiras family though Gṛtsamada himself is so. There are many like this.

26. About the term Āṅgirasa or those who are related to the Aṅgiras, we do not know whether they were only members of a family or a school or whether they were sons of an Aṅgiras. There is no evidence of a person named Aṅgiras in the *Ṛgveda*. We know the name only in the plural and in the places where it occurs in the singular it is not the name of any particular person of that name. In the compound words where it, as the first member, can be either the singular or the plural number, the probability is that it is meant as plural; in one set it is definitely so.

27. But in later times, Aṅgiras is a specific person, one of the seven great Sages of India, the *Saptarṣis*. For this reason I am inclined to take the word in the plural to mean a person bearing the name of Aṅgiras along with a group of

persons associated with him. Aṅgiras is closely associated with the Atharvan, especially in the *Atharvaveda*. Atharvan does not appear either as a poet or as a theme for poetry in the *Ṛgveda*. But there are mentioned two poets as related to his family. *Atharvan* is also the father of one great sage in the *Ṛgveda*, *Dadhyañc*. The word also occurs in some places and it would seem that the word represents the name of a great personality. In the *Ṛgveda*, he does not come near the Aṅgiras in point of prominence.

Indra and the Aṅgirases form a very good combination in winning light. Indra is the ideal warrior in the Vedas and the Aṅgirases are the best among the poets. It is true that there is a similar combination of Indra and Bṛhaspati. But Bṛhaspati himself combines power and wisdom; he wards off dangers for the men. It is on account of this interesting combination of the two forces, that of power in Indra and that of wisdom in the Aṅgirases that I gave such a full account of this group of poets. Wisdom inspires power and power protects wisdom. This is the ideal from the *Ṛgveda* period. They represent the right co-operation between the two forces that function in the progression of humanity. Wisdom does not condemn power as an evil and power does not spurn wisdom as an inconvenience. Bṛhaspati combined both power and wisdom in himself and he allied himself with power. I am not at all suggesting that Indra has no wisdom. But he represents the ideal of heroism in the Vedas. Wisdom without power to protect may go to ruin at the hands of those with power and without wisdom; power without wisdom will harm wisdom. A combination of the two is the right security for human progression. This is another facet of the genius that has started in the Vedic times and that has continued in the country so long as India was a great nation. It is the condemnation of power that resulted in the downfall of the country. And such a condemnation arose out of the opponents of the Vedic ideals.

VII. A FEW OTHER TEACHERS

1. In dealing with Manu and Aṅgiras, it has been found that they were given as ideals in the matter of performing the worship with songs composed by the poets recited on such occasions. Along with them many other names were also given. Thus there is the mention of Yayāti, Priyamedha, Atri, Virūpa, Pitar, Māndhātar and Bhṛgu. There is the name Virūpa in this context, and Virūpa, also mentioned as plural, is also associated with the Aṅgiras in other ways. In connection with Aṅgiras, there were also the Navagvas and the Daśagvas associated with him. There are some too, who are ancient teachers and poets connected with the starting of, or with the early stages in, the civilization of India. There are only occasional references to them. They all can be dealt with in small sections within a single chapter, since the material available about them is not enough to cover anything like a chapter.

i. Yayāti

2. The name Yayāti comes only in two places in the *Ṛgveda*. He is given as an ideal for the poetry of old and for the worship in which the poems are to be recited.

> O Agni, like Manus, like Aṅgiras, O Aṅgiras, like Yayāti, like the custom in old times, you come here to this abode.

It is certain that the poets of the *Ṛgvedic* times must have known an ancient king by name Yayāti. The name appears in a poem by Hiraṇyastūpa of the Aṅgiras family. This is in the first Book of the *Ṛgveda* and it is generally held that the first Book contains poems of later days, the Books II to VIII being the oldest part of the *Ṛgveda*. The internal chronology of the *Ṛgveda* has been examined from various points of view, and the results are different in different approaches. The poets of the first Book belong to ancient families, and the present text of the *Ṛgveda* does not contain poems from the founders of those families like the Aṅgiras. From this point of view there is the possibility that the first Book contains ancient poems from the members of those families while there were no poems available from the founders of the families themselves since they lived in very early times; for this reason, only the poems from the members of the family could be included in the collection. But it may be that the poets of the other Books from the second to the eighth were nearer to the time of such collection and that the poems of the founders and also of the members of such families were available. It must be borne in mind that new poems were being composed and that such poems were made use of at the time of the Vedic worship. So old poems got out of currency and were forgotten; later they ceased to be available for the collection. This is a possibility. It is not proved that the poems in the first Book are later.

3. If Hiraṇyastūpa is a very early, ancient poet, then Yayāti must have been as ancient as Yama and Manu and Aṅgiras, known to him as ideals for the performance of the worship. It is known from the *Ṛgveda* itself that Yayāti was the son of Nahuṣa. This latter word appears a few times in the *Ṛgveda* in its original form and also in its derivative form of Nāhuṣa and Nahuṣya, related to Nahuṣa. There is also the form Nahus.

4. There is mention of Nahuṣa with good deeds to his credit. The expression is *Nahuṣe sukṛtvani.* Here it seems to

be a proper name. Where the word appears in the plural it may mean people in general or perhaps a particular group of people. There is another passage too where the word appears in the derivative form and there too the word must be the name of some one. The passage is: Those gods who sit on the grass spread by Nahuṣya Yayāti, " Yayāti the son of Sahuṣa." The actual passage is: *Yayāter ye nahuṣyasya barhiṣi devā āsate*. Here Yayāti is the son of Nahuṣa. They must have been famous kings of old of whom the poets of the Vedic times must have had recollections through tradition and also through poems about them.

5. Both Yayāti and Nahuṣa are well known in the latter-day epics. According to the traditions preserved for a later period in the history of Indian civilization when the epics grew up, Yayāti continued as the son of Nahuṣa, both belonging to the dynasty originating from the Moon. Both are also very famous in the traditions of India preserved in those epics. Nahuṣa is known as having been lifted to the heavenly regions and also as having been installed as Indra, the king of the heavens, when the real Indra had to temporarily vacate the position. Nahuṣa's son Yayāti had married two queens and from them he had five sons; they all appear as very important persons in the *Ṛgveda* and the names appear in the plural number perhaps to designate the people over whom they ruled as kings. The five sons are: Yadu and Turvaśa in Devayānī and Druhyu, Pūru and Anu in Śarmiṣṭhā. In the *Ṛgveda*, Turvaśa and Yadu appear more or less as a pair. Nahuṣa is the grandson of Purūravas, the son of Budha, who is the son of the Moon from whom the dynasty originated. Purūravas and Nahuṣa and Yayāti appear in the *Ṛgveda*. Nahuṣa is not mentioned as related to Purūravas; but the relation of Yayāti to Nahuṣa is given in the *Ṛgveda*, exactly what it is in the later epics. The two sons of Yayāti according to the later epics from the queen Devayānī, also

appear as a pair in the *Ṛgveda*. The *Ṛgveda* mentions many a king and when Yayāti is given as the ideal for the worship according to the Vedic prescriptions, it must be assumed that he was one of the most famous of kings known to the poets of the *Ṛgveda* for his greatness as one of the promoters of the Vedic civilization; perhaps he was not far removed from the origin of the Vedic civilization too, being associated with Manu and the Aṅgiras.

ii. MANDHĀTĀ

6. The word occurs in a generic meaning. Perhaps the word means " one holding (*Dhātar*) the mind (*Man*) ". To Agni there is the address, " You are a Mandhātā, you are the giver of riches, you are the promoter of *Ṛta* or Law." Again Agni is spoken of as " the best among those who destroy the Dasyu (enemy) of Mandhātā ". It is doubtful whether here it means only a man who has set his mind on something good, perhaps on Agni himself. Sāyaṇa seems to take it as a proper name, though he does not give sufficient details; he says "*yauvanāśvasya Māndhātuḥ* ". The Aśvins are spoken of as having protected Mandhātā in the matter of " overlordship of the fields "; the passage is—*mandhātāram kṣetrapatyeṣv āvatham*. Here there is no doubt that it is a historical person. Then there is the passage where Mandhātā is given as the ideal for the worship—*mandhātṛvat*, " like Mandhātā ". In these two places there is no doubt that a great king named Mandhātā is meant; in one more place also the reference may be to the same king. In the other place it is only a general statement. Why Agni is called Mandhātā, we do not know.

iii. PRIYAMEDHA

7. All the three kings noted above are also poets whose poems find a place in the *Ṛgveda*. Thus Yayāti, son of Nahuṣa

is the poet for three verses in the poem, IX-101-4 to 6. There is nothing special in the verses and we accept them as the composition of Yayāti on the authority of the indices. Similarly, Nahuṣa is the poet for three verses in the same poem, 7 to 9. The indices give Nahuṣa as the son of Manu. There is a Māndhātā son of Yuvanāśva (Yauvanāśva) also appearing as the poet in X. 134. This is a poem with seven verses; the second half of the sixth verse and the whole of the seventh verse are assigned to a poetess, Godhā. We have to accept this too on the authority of the indices. Here the name is slightly different from the name of the king mentioned above; the name would suggest that this is the son of the Mandhātā given before. But his father is given as Yuvanāśva. Sāyaṇa identifies both Māndhātā and Mandhātā.

8. But there is a poet mentioned as such an ideal, whose poems also appear rather prominently in the *Ṛgveda.* That is Priyamedha who is the author of three whole poems in the eighth Book (78, 79 and 87), of one whole poem in the ninth Book (28) and of a few verses in another poem (VIII-2-1 to 40). He belongs to the Aṅgiras Family. In the case of one of the three whole poems (VIII-87) the authorship is not definite. Kṛṣṇa of the Aṅgiras family and Dyumnīka son of Vasiṣṭha are given as alternative names for the authorship of this poem. In the case of the poem in which the first forty verses are attributed to Priyamedha, there is also given Medhātithi of the Kaṇva family as joint author; the remaining two verses have Medhātithi of the Kaṇva family as the sole author. Priyamedha belongs to the Aṅgiras family, which is very old; there is a doubt about the authorship of some of the poems that have come down to us as the composition of Priyamedha. This itself shows that he must have been a very ancient poet; but he is not associated with any of Indra's exploits like the Aṅgiras.

9. It has already been said that Priyamedha is mentioned as a very ancient poet along with Dadhyañc, Aṅgiras, Kaṇva, Atri and Manu as having known of the birth of the poet Parucchepa, son of Divodāsa. Brahmātithi of the Kaṇva family speaks of the Aśvins having protected Priyamedha and also Kaṇva, Upastuta, Atri and Sṛñjara. Sāyaṇa seems to take the last as qualifying Atri and not as a proper name.

10. There are places where the word occurs in the plural. In those cases, the word must mean the descendants of Priyamedha or the members of a school starting from him. In two of such cases, there is an address to them. Medhātithi of the Kaṇva family asks the Priyamedhas to worship Indra. Another poet named Medhapriya of the Aṅgiras family, asks the priyamedhas to pray to Indra; also his sons are required to make the same prayer. There are five places where the word occurs in the nominative case in the plural. Praskaṇva of the Kaṇva family (perhaps son of Kaṇva) says that the Priyamedhas have invoked Agni for protection. The Āyus have adored Indra with sons; the Priyamedhas have made a sound of songs; this is what Medhātithi of the Kaṇva family says. Sadhvaṁsa of the Kaṇva family says that the Priyamedhas have invoked the Aśvins. Priyamedha of the Aṅgiras family says that the Priyamedhas have performed the same offerings with cutting of the grass and other items as of old. Gaurivīti, son of Śakti, who is the son of Vasiṣṭha himself, speaks of the Priyamedhas as having approached Indra with supplications; in one place Vatsa of the Kaṇva family speaks of the horses of Indra as having been praised by Priyamedha. We cannot say whether it is the person that is meant or the family; the number of the word is not known as it is the first member of a compound (*priyamedha-stuta*). Priyamedha is one of the greatest among the poets and worshippers of gods in ancient times whose memory had been preserved to the time of the *Ṛgveda*. It is mainly the members

of the Kaṇva family that have preserved the memory of Priyamedha in their songs, though others too have mentioned his name.

11. I am not sure what is meant by the term "like the father" used by Nābhāka of the Kaṇva family; he says that he was singing a song to Indra and Agni "like the fathers (or father), like Mandhātā, like Aṅgiras". Sāyaṇa is not specific about it; the translators take it to mean "Fore-fathers".

iv. VIRŪPA

12. The Aṅgirases were related to Yama, and along with the Aṅgirases there were three groups mentioned, the Virūpas, the Navagvas and the Daśagvas. The Virūpas were mentioned along with some others as ideals in the matter of the ancient worship. The word occurs as a name and also in the generic sense of "having different forms".

13. Praskaṇva of the Kaṇva family (perhaps his son) speaks of the Virūpas along with Priyamedha and others as ideals for the ancient system of worship. Viśvāmitra speaks of the Virūpas, the Aṅgirases. Here it is definitely a reference to the Aṅgirases, who are spoken of as Virūpas; it may be a group among the Aṅgirases. The word appears as a vocative in a poem by Virūpa of the Aṅgiras group, and it may be an address to himself. Nābhānediṣṭha, son of Manu, speaks of the Virūpas as poets (*Ṛṣis*). The Virūpas were born over the heaven from Agni, and here there is a mention of Navagvas and Daśagvas and the Aṅgirases. These are the places in the *Ṛgveda* where the word must be the name of some one or of a group. In all the other places the word means "having different forms" in the *Ṛgveda*. There is also the word Vairūpa, which means "one related to Virūpa or belonging to the family of Virūpa." This is the form in which the word occurs in the poem about Yama living in happiness in the other world. There must have been some one by name

Virūpa and there must have been poets belonging to the family of this Virūpa. There must have been such members of the family already in the other world, gone there along with the Aṅgirases. It is very doubtful whether the Vairūpas are a separate group even within the Aṅgirases; it can be only an epithet of the Aṅgirases. But the form in the singular shows that there must have been some individual by that name. In the place where the word appears as a vocative, there is the previous verse where there is the vocative, Aṅgiras. The poem is about Agni; but neither of the two vocatives can be an address to Agni, since the passage is not an address to Agni, but a statement about Agni. Since the poet belongs to the Aṅgiras family and since his own name is Virūpa, the possibility is that the address in both the verses is to himself. Such addresses to the poet himself are not unknown in the *Ṛgveda*. But it seems improbable that this is the Virūpa who started the family. There are places where a poet speaks of himself in the name of the founder of the family or with a word that signifies a relation to that name. Here in both the places, the meaning must be " one related to Aṅgiras and one related to Virūpa ".

v. THE NAVAGVAS

14. There are two groups of poets known as the Navagvas and the Daśagvas; the Virūpas form another group. All the three groups are related to the Aṅgirases. Sāyaṇa has his own explanation for the two terms, Navagvas and Daśagvas. He analyses the term *Navagva* as derived from *Nava* and *Gva*; the former element is related to the root *Nav* (to praise) and the latter to the root *Gam* (to go). The whole word means according to him, " one whose gait is praiseworthy." He also refers to a story of how the Aṅgirases performed a grand ritual of worship and how some of them attained the fruits in nine months; these were known as the Navagvas.

Those who attained the fruit in ten months came to be known as the Daśagvas. He refers to a passage where according to him the point is clear. But all that is said in that context is that both the Navagvas and the Daśagvas performed the ritual of pressing the Soma for the sake of Indra; nothing is said about their attaining the fruits in the times specified by Sāyaṇa.

15. When Yama was enjoying life in the other world as a king along with Varuṇa, and in the company of the Aṅgirases, it was also mentioned that the Navagvas too were there with Yama. There the Navagvas were also stated to be the Aṅgirases, "our forefathers". We do not know who they were. They must have belonged to the Aṅgiras group. It is not unlikely that some of them went as a group of nine and others as a group of ten; then there might have been others who did not form any such compact groups. They must have been known as the Navagvas, the Daśagvas and the Virūpas or Vairūpas, respectively, among the Aṅgirases. There must also have been others in the group of the Aṅgirases outside these three. Hiraṇyastūpa says that the people called Navagvas (*kṣitayo navagvāḥ*) came together. It is in explaining this passage that Sāyaṇa says that the two groups among the Aṅgirases are known as Navagvas and Daśagvas on account of their having attained the fruits of their worship in nine and in ten months, and then he says that the matter is clear in a later passage.

16. Nodhas of the Gotama family says that Indra killed Vala along with the seven poets, with the Navagvas, with the Saraṇyus and with the Daśagvas as associates. Viśvāmitra speaks of Indra as having followed the cows in association with their companions, the Navagvas, himself being a companion to them. In the same passage there is the mention of the ten Daśagvas, (*daśabhir daśagvaiḥ*), in whose company he found the sun hidden in darkness. Vāmadeva speaks of

Navagvas along with the Daśagvas and Aṅgiras, singing about the Dawn. A poetess named Viśvavārā of the Atri Family, sings about Indra in which she says that the Navagvas and the Daśagvas worshipped Indra with their songs. It is in this verse that Sāyaṇa finds the event of the two groups having attained the fruits of their worship in nine and in ten months respectively.

17. A poet named Sadāpṛṇa belonging to the Atri family says that the Navagvas worshipped Indra for ten months. In the same verse it is said that Saramā found out the cows and that Aṅgiras made everything true. The performance of the worship for ten months by the Navagvas is again stated in the same poem at the close. Bharadvāja, son of Bṛhaspati, speaks of the Navagvas as divine (*divya*) and he speaks of them as their ancient fathers; this is mentioned along with the seven poets. Gaurivīti, son of Śakti (who is himself the son of Vasiṣṭha) speaks of Dadhyañc, the Navagva. Nābhānediṣṭha, son of Manu speaks of the Navagvas as having attained the favour of a maiden. Sāyaṇa says that this maiden (*kanā*) is only the poem of Nābhānediṣṭha. In the next poem he says that the Virūpas were born from Agni and that Navagva and Daśagva (both in the singular), the best among the Aṅgirases, became honoured together among the gods. This portion of the poem is in praise of the Aṅgirases, according to the ancient indices; it may also be in praise of the gods in general (Viśve Devas).

18. This is all that we know of the Navagvas in the *Ṛgveda* and we know from this that they formed a part of the Aṅgiras family. There were also the Daśagvas. There were the Virūpas too. They were closely connected with the event of Indra having killed Vala and having recovered the cows hidden behind the mountain; it was Saramā who found out the hiding place of the cows. The songs of the vedic poets, among whom the Navagvas are included, formed a

very prominent feature in this adventure of Indra. The Navagvas are the ancient fathers, a term applied to others too. They worshipped Indra for ten months; this must be in connection with the exploit of the recovery of the cows.

vi. DASAGVAS

19. The Daśagvas are a similar group among the Aṅgirases as the Navagvas. Their name appeared along with the name of the Navagvas and the Virūpas and the Aṅgirases. They had the same part to play. There is practically nothing that is characteristic of them. As a matter of fact, all the four groups go together, the Aṅgirases being the main branch, and the Navagvas and the Daśagvas and the Virūpas being included within this Aṅgiras family.

20. Besides the passages above where the Navagvas were also included there are a few places where the Daśagvas are mentioned without the Navagvas. Gṛtsamada, son of Śunahotra and belonging to the Aṅgiras family, speaks of the Daśagvas as having been the first to perform the worship. In one place there is the word *Daśagvin*, which means only " associated with ten cows ". The same poet says that Indra protected Daśagva, Adhrigu. They must be two separate persons.

21. In the term *Daśagvin*, just referred to above, the meaning of the term *Daśagva* has something to do with cows and the word is not to be traced to the root *Gam* (to go). We all know that the Aṅgirases and the branches in their family known as the Navagvas and the Daśagvas and the Virūpas, were closely allied with Indra with their songs in winning the cows. Can we dissociate this event from the name of the people? In that case, the Navagvas might as well have been the people among the Aṅgirases who recovered or who gained nine cows, the Daśagvas having recovered or gained ten cows and the Virūpas gained many, without any such grouping,

of the cows. The Aṅgirases also gained the cows. The cows are not actual animals. The cows represent wisdom expressed in poetic form. This is a matter that cannot be ignored when we try to interpret the names of these groups of poets.

vii. THE SEVEN POETS

22. In connection with the treatment of the Navagvas and the Daśagvas, we have come across a term, the seven poets (*sapta ṛṣis*). They are not given as ideals of an earlier time, for the performance of the worship in later times, as in the case of the Aṅgiras, Manu and so on. But they were mentioned along with these groups and so they are taken up in the context. As a matter of fact, the Navagvas and the Daśagvas came into this picture because of their relation to the Aṅgiras and not because they were given as examples for proper worship like Manu and Aṅgiras.

23. There are several terms used to designate the seven poets. They are called the seven Ṛṣis (*Sapta ṛṣayaḥ*), seven invokers (*Hotar*), seven poets (*Viprāḥ*). Trasadasyu, son of Purukutsa, speaks of the seven Ṛṣis as "our fore-fathers (*Pitaraḥ*). Dvita, son of Āpta (*Āptya*) speaks of the seven Ṛṣis as his songs. I am not sure if the seven refers to the songs (*Vāṇīḥ*); the number seven is often applied to this word also. Yajña, son of Prajāpati (is it worship itself ?) speaks of the seven Ṛṣis as divine (*Daivya*). The word occurs as a compound, and Juhū, wife of Brahman (Ūrdhvanābhā, son of Brahman is given as alternative poet) speaks of the seven Ṛṣis as having sat down for the performance of penance (*Tapas*); the ancient gods are also associated with them as singing songs. Viśvakarman speaks also about the seven Ṛṣis (using the compound form) and it is said that they are only one.

24. There are many places where the term seven poets (*Vipra*) is used. Nodhas of the Gotama family mentions the

seven *Vipras* as associates of Indra along with the Navagvas. Viśvāmitra says that the seven *Vipras* guard what is desirable which is hidden in the position of the bird, along with the five *Adhvaryus* (those who perform the various rituals). Kuśika, son of Iṣīratha says that the seven *Vipras* drove out the cows with their minds. Atri son of Bhūmi, says that the seven *Vipra* (only singular is used) calls the big cows repeatedly for immense wealth, the cows being producers of happiness, the poets singing. Bharadvāja, son of Bṛhaspati, associates the seven *Vipras* with the Navagvas, who are our fore-fathers (*Naḥ pūrve pitaraḥ*). Kāśyapa, son of Marīci, speaks of them as the seven *Vipras*, the Ṛṣis. Here both terms are used. They approached the Soma.

25. Another term used is *Hotar* (invoker). This term alternates with *Hotrā.* Viśvāmitra speaks of Agni as having been adorned by the seven Hotars. Bhārgava son of Pragātha (himself a son of Kaṇva) says that the seven *Hotars* wooed Agni. Kāśyapa, son of Marīci, says that the seven *Hotars* are the *Ṛtviks*, those who participate in the rituals of worship. Devaśravas, son of Yama, says that he is putting the Soma drops in the fire according to the seven *Hotrās* (this must be feminine, and perhaps means only the songs). Śuna, son of Dhanaka, asks Iḷā to give seats to the seven *Hotars* along with the gods. Nābhānediṣṭha says that the wishes of the seven *Hotars* were fulfilled. Gaya son of Plata says that Manu performed the first worship along with the seven Hotars.

26. There are some other terms also used as parallels of the seven Ṛṣis. Vāmadeva of the Gotama family says that Indra created the seven poets (*Kārūn*). Sadhri, son of Virūpa, says that seven *Dhīras* (people with *Dhī* or intellect) carry him forwards, with their word (of song). Citramahas, son of Vasiṣṭha, speaks of seven men with oblations (*Haviṣmantaḥ*) adoring Indra.

27. In dealing with the adoration of wisdom assigned to Bṛhaspati, it was found that in an assembly of learned people where the poet is allowed to sit before the Altar and sing his new poem, there are seven poets who are appointed as judges to decide whether the poetry of the new entrant is of a quality to entitle him to be accepted as a true poet (*Ṛṣi*). They are designated there as the seven *Rebhas*; *Rebha* also means a singer or poet.

28. I am of the view that all these terms mean the same thing; they are the seven poets who are selected to be the judges to decide the merits of a new poem that is allowed to be recited by the poet in the assembly of the learned people, sitting before the Altar. It is when they give their approval that a poet is admitted into the circle of the true poets. They have a very important part to play in the performance of the worship. They do not have any place among the poets who are the founders of the religion and philosophy of India; they are not individuals who could become such founders. They are only positions which any poet could occupy. But they are included among the poets who are the founders of religion and philosophy because they are often confused with specific persons. In later Vedic literature the seven Ṛṣis are identified with the seven stars constituting the Great Bear. There are seven Family Books in the *Ṛgveda*, Books in which the poems are the compositions of seven great poets and the members of their families. The seven *Ṛṣis* mentioned in the *Ṛgveda* cannot be identified with them. For one thing, there are really more than seven such families founded by great poets. In the eighth Book only the first part is by Kaṇva and the members of his family. The second part contains poems by members of other families. Gṛtsamada speaks of Hotar, Ṛtvij, Neṣṭar, Praśāstar, Adhvaryu, Brahman and Gṛhapati together in the same verse. The seven Ṛṣis are not these. Gṛtsamada gives other lists further, not of the persons who

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participate in the worship, but of gods, in the succeeding verses, like Indra, Viṣṇu, Varuṇa and Mitra. Such seven *Ṛṣis* have a place among the poets who are the founders of the religion and philosophy of India only to the extent that such poet-founders had been holding the positions of the seven *Ṛṣis* or poets who decided the merits of new poems that were admitted for test at the congregation of the learned people.

viii. BHṚGU

29. Bhṛgu is mentioned as an example of persons who had been conducting the worship and who had been reciting poems composed by themselves in olden days, whose path the later poets were following. There is a Bhṛgu whose poems, two in number, find a place in the collection of the *Ṛgveda* which we have at present handed down from the past. There are many poets who belong to the Bhṛgu family, like the Aṅgirases. They are related to the rituals, being very closely connected with the Fire. They are also connected with some of the gods. The Bhṛgus continue in the later Vedic literature and also in the epics of a much later period. Bhṛgu as a person appears as a son of Varuṇa in the later Vedic literature, though there is nothing in the *Ṛgveda* itself to connect Bhṛgu with Varuṇa.

30. There are a few places in the *Ṛgveda* where the Bhṛgus, or perhaps Bhṛgu as a person, represents the ideal for the performance of the worship and for the composition of poetry in adoration of gods. The word *Bhṛguvat* (like Bhṛgu) occurs only once. Virūpa of the Aṅgiras Family says that he was invoking Agni like Bhṛgu, along with Manu and Aṅgiras. There are other places where the particle of comparison is used. Vāmadeva of the Gotama family says that they were composing a song for Indra as the Bhṛgus make a chariot. Manu, son of Saṁvaraṇa asks Soma to kill the enemies like

the Bhṛgus. Ghoṣā, daughter of Kakṣīvān, says that they have composed a poem for the Aśvins as the Bhṛgus construct a chariot. There are thus two places where the Bhṛgus are given as experts in the construction of chariots and the composition of a poem is compared to the construction of a chariot by the Bhṛgus.

31. The part played by the Bhṛgus in the worship of the gods and their relations to the gods are mentioned in many places. (1) Nodhas of the Gotama family says that the Bhṛgus have kept the Agni among the men. (2) Parucchepa, son of Divodāsa, says that the Bhṛgus recite poems near the Agni. (3) Dīrghatamas says that the Bhṛgus have kindled Agni. (4) Somāhuti of the Bhṛgu family says that the Bhṛgus have kept Agni among the people of Āyu. (5) Viśvāmitra speaks of Agni as the gift of the Bhṛgus. (6) Viśvāmitra again says that the God Mātariśvan kindled Agni who was in the cave, for the sake of the Bhṛgus. (7) Vāmadeva of the Gotama family says that the Bhṛgus kindled Agni for the sake of the people, in the trees (*Vaneṣu*). (8) Bharadvāja, son of Bṛhaspati, says that the Bhṛgus kept Agni well kindled as they did Mitra. (9) Vasiṣṭha speaks of the Bhṛgus as the companions of the Druhyus in pursuing Turvaśa who desired to perform a worship. (10) Medhyātithi of the Kaṇva family says that the Bhṛgus attained all their wishes like the Kaṇvas and the rays of the sun. (11) Vatsa of the Kaṇva family says that the Bhṛgus have praised Indra. (12) Śyāvāśva of the Atri family says that the Aśvins remained as companions of the Bhṛgus along with all the thirty-three gods, with the waters, with the Maruts. (13) In the poem about Yama in heaven, there is a prayer that the people may remain in the good thoughts of Aṅgiras, Atharvans and Bhṛgus, who are worthy of Soma. (14) Vatsapri, son of Bhalandana, says that the Bhṛgus obtained Agni that was remaining in the cave. (15) He also says that the Bhṛgus created the Agni

along with the heaven and the earth, with the waters and with Tvaṣṭar. (16) Some gods carried the glory; Atharvan maintained it through their worship and the gods, and the Bhṛgus recognised it through their dexterity. This is said by Śaryāta, son of Manu. (17) Citramahas, son of Vasiṣṭha says that the Bhṛgus illuminated Agni with their songs. It will be noted that the Bhṛgus were great poets of old and that they discovered the Agni. Some gods helped them in this discovery.

32. While the Aṅgirases and along with them the Navagvas and the Daśagvas were closely associated with Indra and took part in the exploits of Indra in killing Vala and the Paṇis and in recovering the cows that were concealed by the enemies in the cave behind the mountains, the Bhṛgus are associated with the discovery of the Agni; in this way he is more related to Manu. All are poets and all are connected with the early stages in the establishment of a civilization and in regulating their religious worship, also in giving a shape to a culture through poetry.

33. Gṛtsamada, the chief poet in the second Book of the *Ṛgveda*, was originally a member of the Aṅgiras family and a son of Śunahotra; later he became Śaunaka of the Bhṛgu family. Śaunaka is a very prominent member in the literature relating to the Vedic exegesis, being the author of the indices of poets, metres and themes (Devatā) for the *Ṛgveda* and of the *Bṛhaddevatā* dealing with a detailed description of the gods in the *Ṛgveda*. He is also the head of a group of Sages in whose assembly, a Bard recited the *Mahābhārata* and the *Bhāgavata* and the *Purāṇas*, in the Naimiśa forest. There are other poets also belonging to the Bhṛgu family whose compositions are included in the *Ṛgveda*.

ix. ATRI

34. Atri is another poet of old who is cited as an example for the performance of the worship and for the composition

of poetry, in the *Ṛgveda*. The fifth Book of the *Ṛgveda* is assigned to the members of his family and to himself. In the other Books, the number of poems by the chief member of the family is far greater than the total number of poems by all the members of the family put together. But in this Book, Atri has not composed more poems than any of the other members of the family. He is chiefly associated with the Aśvins, and the important thing about him is that the Aśvins rescued Atri from darkness and also from burning fire. We have to consider Atri as represented by other poets and also as found described within the poems of himself and of the members of his family. We are more interested in him as a poet and as a founder of the religion and culture, and as such the descriptions of him by other poets of a later time has greater importance in this context. The word occurs both in the singular and in the plural; in many places it is not a name, but only a common word meaning " one who eats ".

35. Atri is given as an example for the worship conducted in ancient times. He is spoken of as such, along with Priyamedha and Virūpa and Aṅgiras. The members of his family speak of him as the example in the matter of poetry. Vasuśruta of the family asks Agni to be the protector of his body being adored by him, as Atri had done, with salutations. Iṣa of the family speaks of Atri as being resplendent and he compares Agni with him for this. Viśvasāman of the family asks himself to worship Agni as Atri had done. Svasti, a poetess of the family, asks Agni to come to the place along with gods, with the two Aśvins, with the Dawn and sing as Atri had done. Bāhuvṛkta of the family says that they were invoking Mitra and Varuṇa as Atri had done. Thus it will be found that it is mainly the members of the family who cite him as an example for their worship and for their poetry.

36. There are many places where Atri is mentioned as an individual and connected with the gods. (1) Indra

found out the Path for Atri in a place with a hundred doors. This is said by Savya of the Aṅgiras family. (2) Aśvins protected Atri from Fire, as said by Kutsa of the Aṅgiras family. This is said twice in the same poem. It is repeated by Kakṣīvān, son of Dīrghatamas, in his poems in a few places, and calls it as a place where Fire was burning from which Atri was saved by the Aśvins. In all such places a large number of events of the same kind are mentioned relating to the Aśvins who gave protection against danger to various people. Parucchepa, son of Divodāsa says that Atri, along with others, knew of his birth. Agastya too mentions the event of the Aśvins having protected Atri from fire. Agastya also says that Atri, along with Gotama and Purumīḷha have invoked Mitra and Varuṇa.

37. Ṛjiśvān of the Bharadvāja family mentions how the Aśvins saved Atri, as an example. Vasiṣṭha also mentions the same help to Atri. Brahmātithi of the Kaṇva family too refers to it. Śyāvāśva of the Atri family asks the Aśvins to listen to his songs as they did that of Atri. He asks Indra to take note of the songs of the Atris and also asks him to listen to his songs as he had done in the case of the songs of Atri. He again refers to the songs of the Atris. Nābhāka of the Kaṇva family refers to the songs of Atri which the Aśvins have listened to. Gopavana of the Atri family speaks of the protection which Aśvins gave to Atri in three verses. Ghoṣā, a poetess who was the daughter of the poet Kakṣīvān, refers to the protection of Atri by the Aśvins. This is also mentioned by Agni himself as Saucīka or as Vaiśvānara (two forms of the sacred Fire). It is again mentioned by Atri, son of Saṅkhya in three verses. Mṛlīka, son of Vasiṣṭha speaks of the protection of Atri by Agni.

38. Kumāra of the Atri family speaks of the songs of Atri to Agni. Iṣa of the Atri family wishes that Atri be victorious over the enemies. Dharuṇa of the Aṅgiras family

refers to the help which Atri had from Agni. Atri himself says that Atri discovered the Sun concealed behind the Svarbhānu and addresses to himself, and then again refers to the discovery of the sun concealed behind Svarbhānu. Paura of the Atri family speaks of the Aśvins, whom Atri has known through his poems, in two verses.

39. Atri is specially associated with Agni and with the Aśvins. While some of the teachers mentioned in the previous portions are closely related to Indra in his exploits against Vala and in his victory over him in the form of the recovery of the cows hidden by him in the cave and behind the mountain, Atri is specially connected Mātariśvan in the discovery of Agni concealed in the cave. His songs are very familiar to the poets of the Vedic period. He is given as the son of Bhūmi (Bhauma) in the old indices when the poets of the various pieces in the *Ṛgveda* are mentioned. But in the *Ṛgveda* itself there is no hint of such a parentage. I am not sure if Atri the ancient poet, is different from Atri whose poems are included in the fifth Book of the *Ṛgveda*. Besides Atri of the fifth Book, who is Bhauma, there is another Atri, son of Saṅkhya (Sāṅkhya) in the tenth Book. My own view is that Atri Bhauma is different from Atri the ancient poet mentioned by the various poets.

40. Atri's connection with the Fire is very plain. The word itself is used for Agni (Fire). Perhaps the word means " one who eats ". The enemies are also called Atri, being perhaps devourers. I am not sure if they are meant as man-eaters. Atri is a very famous personality in the later epics. He is one of the seven Ṛṣis, the *Sapta Ṛsis*. He was born from the mind of Brahman, the Creator, along with five others while Marīci, one of the seven was born from the eyes of Brahman. The moon is born from the eyes of Atri and there is the passage in the *Raghuvaṁśa* of Kālidāsa where the moon is spoken of as the lustre that was born from the eyes

of Atri. The moon is the starting point for the lunar dynasty of kings, and in this way, he connects the Vedic period with the epic period.

41. There are many poets belonging to his family whose compositions are included in the fifth Book of the *Ṛgveda* and also in the other Books. There are two poetesses who belong to his family and they are Apālā and Viśvavārā. There are nearly forty poets of his family who have contributed compositions to the extant *Ṛgveda*. And he is himself a prominent poet of the *Ṛgveda*, besides being an example for poetry cited by other poets, if they are the same.

x. ATHARVAN

42. Atharvan is an ancient poet who is mentioned in the *Ṛgveda;* many members of his family play a very important rôle in the *Ṛgvedic* lore. Atharvan himself has not contributed any poem to the extant collection of the *Ṛgveda*. But the members of his family are contributors to the *Ṛgveda* collection; they are Bṛhaddiva and Bhiṣak, each with one poem. The *Atharvaveda* bears his name, and the Veda is also associated with Atharvan and Aṅgiras. There is a view held in modern times that the *Atharvaveda* had no place among the Vedas in the beginning and that it was only after some fight, after much of struggle, that it was accorded a position among the Vedas. It is rather strange that a collection of poetry bearing the name of Atharvan and Aṅgiras, who were both important personalities in the *Ṛgveda*, should have had a struggle for acceptance as a Veda, if such a struggle had taken place. I have dealt with the point in another book in detail. I do not subscribe to this view of such a struggle between the *Atharvaveda* and the other three Vedas.

43. The word Atharvan occurs both in the singular and in the plural. In the singular it must be the name of an individual who started the family known by that name. If

no poem of his finds a place in the *Ṛgveda* and if only two poems from the members of his family are found in this collection, it does not mean that he was rather unimportant in the *Ṛgvedic* times. In the plural, it means the members of his family.

44. Atharvans are mentioned along with the Aṅgirases as being in the other world where Yama had been enjoying life as a king. There are two places where Atharvan is cited as an example for poetry and worship. Bharadvāja, son of Bṛhaspati, with the alternative author of Vītahavya of the Aṅgiras family, speaks of the worshippers kindling the fire like Atharvan. Pāyu of Bharadvāja family speaks of Agni as being united with the divine light as Atharvan had done. There are the members of his family also mentioned prominently. First I will take up the places where Atharvan or Atharvans in plural are used.

45. (1) Gotama son of Rahūgaṇa speaks of Atharvan and the father Manu and Dadhyañc having made songs about Indra. He himself says that for the first time Atharvan made the Paths through his worships and the Sun was born only after that. (2) Bharadvāja speaks of Dadhyañc as Atharvan; perhaps it is because the former is the son of Atharvan. It is also said in the previous verse that Atharvan produced Agni from the water by drilling or churning. (3) Garga of the Bharadvāja family speaks of the present by Pāyu to Atharvan of the chariots along with additional horses and a hundred cows. (4) Śaśakarṇa of the Kaṇva family speaks of pouring Soma among the Atharvans. (5) Asita of the Kāśyapa family or Devala of the same family, says that the Atharvans mixed Soma with milk (or with water) (6) Vimada, son of Indra says that Agni was born of Atharvan. (7) Indra (Vaikuṇṭha) speaks of himself as being the chest of Atharvan, his protector. (8) Bṛhaddiva speaks of himself as Atharvan, being a member of that family and speaks about his poem about Indra.

46. When some members of the Atharvan family speak of themselves as Atharvan, there are a few places where one holy personage, Dadhyañc, is spoken of as Ātharvaṇa, son of Atharvan. It is in connection with the story of Dadhyañc and the Aśvins. This will be taken up when I deal with Dadhyañc himself. A woman warrior is spoken of as Ātharvya, worthy of the Atharvans. I do not know why she is so designated. She is a great heroine fighting in battle and breaking her legs; Aśvins replaced her legs. The word *Athar* occurs in one place, where there is a reference to the teeth and there is also the word *Athari* in feminine, perhaps meaning women who are worthy to worship the fire; the word *Atharyu* is related to Agni.

47. We do not know the exact meaning of the word Atharvan. It must be "some one who has *Athar*". *Athar* is related to the Iranian word *Athar* meaning "fire". In this way, Atharvan may mean "one who has Fire, who worships Fire". It is not at all unlikely that the word has something to do with intelligence. The *Athruvan* in Iranian tradition is the wise community among the people. The element of wisdom is associated with the word even in later Sanskrit; Kālidasa speaks of Vasiṣṭha as the treasure-house of Atharvan. I prefer to accept this as the primary meaning and to accept the meaning of fire as secondary. *Atharvaveda* is the Veda of Atharvan, the wise, and contains the world wisdom.

xi. DADHYAÑC

48. Dadhyañc is a very ancient personality who figures rather in an interesting way in the *Ṛgveda* lore. There is no poem by him in the *Ṛgveda*, nor is any poem addressed to him. He is mentioned along with Atharvan and father Manu as having composed poems about Indra, as said by Gotama, son of Rahūgaṇa. He also says that Indra was

able to kill Vṛtra by making a weapon from the bones of Dadhyañc. The commentators narrate the story. It seems that when Dadhyañc was alive the demons were afraid of him and did not molest the gods. But when he went to the heaven the Asuras (demons) began to harass the gods, and Indra wanted to know if something had been left behind by Dadhyañc on the earth so that by that remnant he could fight the demons. His head was left behind, which was a horse's head and after search they found it in the Śaryaṇāvat, a lake. Indra made a weapon with that bone and killed Vṛtra.

49. There are a few places where the protection which the Aśvins gave to Dadhyañc is mentioned. Here also the story is narrated by the Commentators, as seen in some of the *Brāhmaṇa* literature. Indra had communicated to Dadhyañc the knowledge of a great mystery known as the *Madhu-vidyā* (honey wisdom). The condition was that if Dadhyañc gave out the wisdom to any one, Indra would cut off his head. Now, the Aśvins wanted to secure the knowledge of this mystery. When Dadhyañc said that there was the great danger, the Aśvins replaced his own head with a horse's head and asked Dadhyañc to give the teaching with that head; he did so and Indra out off that head. The Aśvins then replaced his own head in its old position. It is this horse's head that was thrown out, which Indra later took hold of to make a weapon with the bones and to kill Vṛtra with that weapon. Kakṣīvān refers to this incident in his poems about the Aśvins and about Dadhyañc and the head of the horse and the instruction in *Madhuvidyā.*

50. Parucchepa, son of Divodāsa says that Dadhyañc and others have known of his birth. Bharadvāja, son of Bṛhaspati says that the poet Dadhyañc, son of Atharvan, has kindled Agni. Gaurivīti, son of Sakti (son of Vasiṣṭha) speaks of Dadhyañc and Navagva and the poets. Indra

(Vaikuṇṭha) says that he gave the cow-stall for Dadhyañc and for Mātariśvan.

51. Dadhyañc is a great poet of old, son of Atharvan. We do not know whether he was actually the son or only a member of that family at a later stage. The likelihood is that he is the son. There is some difficulty about the name. *Dadhi* means " fermented or sour milk " and this sort of milk is used in the worship as an article of offering to the gods ; it is also mixed with Soma before making the offering to the gods. If this element is in the name, the name would mean " one who goes to the fermented milk ". There is another name in the *Ṛgveda*, Dadhikrāvan, the name of a divine horse. That name would mean " one who rushes towards the fermented milk." I am not suggesting that such a name is an improbability in the *Ṛgveda;* but I feel that the word must be analysed in another way. It may be traced to the root *Dhyai* with reduplication. There is the word " *Dadha* " in the *Avesta*, which is traced to the same root. My view is that there is some relation between the two words. Whatever it may be, Dadhyañc is one of the most important poets of the *pre-Ṛgvedic* times; he is the possessor of the greatest of wisdom, the wisdom about the *Madhu* or honey, which Indra had conferred on him. To the poets of the *Ṛgveda* who mention the event, the name of Dadhyañc must have created a great impression and they make reference to it. The event must have been well known at that time; otherwise such casual references would have been of no value. The story is not told in the *Ṛgveda;* it is only hinted. Such hints show its popularity.

xii. UŚANĀ

52. Uśanā is an ancient poet. His name also occurs as very familiar to the *Ṛgvedic* poets. A few of his poems are included in the *Ṛgveda* as we have the collection now, and

there are a few cases where poems are addressed to him or composed about him. In two poems, there is a line which is supposed to be in praise of Uśanā and they are both in the fifth Book. Gauriviti, son of Śakti (son of Vasiṣṭha) sings about Indra and in the beginning of a verse he says, "Uśanā, O Indra, went to the house along with the strong ones, drawn by very swift horses." Avasyu of the Atri family sings of Indra and mentions Kutsa and Indra together along with Uśanā. That Uśanā is given as the theme in these two lines is only casual. We know from them that Uśanā was closely allied to Indra. Vāmadeva speaks of Uśanā as an example for composing poetry in singing about Indra. Vṛṣāgaṇa of the Vasiṣṭha family also makes a similar remark about Uśanā; here the word Kāvya is used to designate poetry. Savya of the Aṅgiras family says that Uśanā produced Agni. Gotama, son of Rahūgaṇa, speaks of Uśanā that he drove the cows and this must be a reference to Indra's fight against Vala. He is called Kāvya or son of Kavi. Kakṣīvān, son of Dīrghatamas says that Uśanā, son of Kavi made the *Vajra* (thunderbolt) for Indra. Parucchepa, son of Divodāsa, also associates Uśanā with Indra. Vāmadeva, son of Gotama, says that he was Uśanā, son of Kavi. Saṁvaraṇa, son of Prajāpati, mentions the construction of the weapon by Uśanā for Indra. Punarvatsa of the Kaṇva family speaks of Maruts going along with Uśanā. Viśvamanas, son of Vyaśva, says that Uśanā, son of Kavi, made Agni the invoker. Uśanā asked Indra and Agni when they two were going to the house; this is said by Vimada, son of Indra. But other poets are given as alternative authors.

53. There are four poems assigned to Uśanā, son of Kavi. Three of them are addressed to Soma and are in the ninth Book. It is given as by Uśanā Kāvya (son of Kavi) in the Indices, and in the *Ṛgveda* itself the name is given as Uśanā Kāvya in some places.

54. I do not know if the name Kāya has any relation to the name Kāvus in Iranian tradition; that is a very ancient dynasty in Iran and Ferdousi mentions the dynasty; after the death of Jamshid and the reign of his successor Sehak, who was a monster and a cruel ruler, another young man belonging to the line of Jamshid came to the throne after killing Sehak. He belonged to the Kāvus dynasty and he was brought up among the cow-herds in hiding. I can only make the suggestion.

55. In later times both Kāvya and Uśanas became names of the same person, the preceptor of the demons (Asuras of the epics), corresponding to Bṛhaspati who became the preceptor of the gods. Uśanas is also the founder of a school of politics and there is a work on the subject going by his name. In the *Ṛgveda*, the name appears as Uśanā, with a long Ā at the end. In later Sanskrit the name is Uśanas. There are many stories about Uśanas in the later epics in India.

xiii. Kutsa

56. Like Atri, Kutsa too is recognised as a prominent poet among the contributors to the extant collection of the *Ṛgveda*. It is true that even a few others who are dealt with in this book have contributed to the collection of the *Ṛgveda;* but they have contributed only a small portion and they are more important as pre-Vedic teachers than as poets of the Vedic period. In the case of Atri, he is the chief poet in the fifth Book of the *Ṛgveda*. Kutsa has contributed many poems to the first Book of the *Ṛgveda*. There are twenty poems in the first Book of the *Ṛgveda* by Kutsa and also four verses in a poem in the ninth Book, along with a large number of other poets who also have made their contributions to complete this poem. Most of them are sons of Vasiṣṭha, Vasiṣṭha himself contributing the first three verses in it and his grandson, Parāśara, son of Śakti, contributing fourteen

verses just before the final four verses contributed by Kutsa. Kutsa himself belongs to the Aṅgiras family. I do not know how the four verses of this poet got into the poem which is a joint production of Vasiṣṭha and his sons and his grandson.

57. Besides being such an important contributor to the *Ṛgveda* collection, he figures prominently in the poetry of the others, who all speak of Kutsa and his adventures. We are more concerned with this aspect of Kutsa. As a Vedic poet, he has no philosophy which can be called peculiar to him and he is only one among the many poets who have written the pieces that have found their way into this collection.

58. Kutsa is closely associated with Indra. There is no such association with Indra which we saw in the case of the Aṅgirases and the groups within Aṅgirases and Bṛhaspati (who belongs to the Aṅgiras family). Here Indra helped Kutsa. The enemy of Kutsa was Śuṣṇa, really meaning " one who scorches ". He may be a demon and not an ordinary enemy among men. Indra and Kutsa ride in the same chariot. Kutsa is spoken of as Indra's charioteer. There is once a mention of Indra having given the wheel of the sun to Kutsa; Indra took one wheel for himself and gave the other to Kutsa.

59. There is a mention of Kutsas in the plural and there is a mention of Kutsa-putra (son of Kutsa). Kutsa is known as the son of Arjuna (Ārjuneya). He is mentioned along with Indra as a dual compound. There are places where Kutsa and Atithigva and Āyu are mentioned together and where Indra seems to have struck the heroes of these people down. Indra handed over Kutsa along with the other two to Suśravas and helped Suśravas and Turvayāṇa. This is mentioned three times on the whole, and Turvayāṇa appears twice.

60. I do not know whether there are more than one Kutsa. Kutsa the son of Arjuna is the friend of Indra and

of the Aśvins; this Kutsa, along with Atithigva and Āyu, may be another. There is one Atithigva who is a friend of Indra. Aśvins have protected one Kutsa, and what is rather surprising is that Kutsa, of the Aṅgiras family speaks of this in his own poem, as if the Kutsa protected by the Aśvins is an ancient person; and that Kutsa is the son of Arjuna (Ārjuneya). Perhaps there are three Kutsas. One is the poet who has composed the pieces incorporated in the *Ṛgveda* and another is Kutsa, son of Arjuna, whom Indra and the Aśvins have been protecting; the third is the enemy of Indra, along with Atithigva and Āyu.

61. Kutsa does not have the same status as a poet in founding the religion and philosophy of the Vedas which the others, dealt with above, have. If he is a warrior, then perhaps he is another Kutsa to whom Indra had done harm, being an associate of Atithigva and Āyu. As a poet, he has contributed little to the religion and philosophy. He was introduced here because of his close association with Indra. He has discovered nothing of value either in religion or in philosophy; nothing had been revealed to him. He is invoked together with Indra in a verse and in the part of a verse. There are two poets who are mentioned as Kautsa, son of Kutsa or belonging to the Kutsa family.

xiv. KAṆVA

62. Kaṇva is a very prominent poet in the *Ṛgveda;* in the early parts of the eighth Book, the poems are the compositions of the members of his family; and he has himself contributed a few poems like Atri who is also such a chief poet in a Book, the fifth Book, of the *Ṛgveda.* There are many members of his family also playing a very prominent role among the poets of the *Ṛgveda;* the poems of Kaṇva himself do not come within the eighth Book; his poems are included in the first Book. There are eight poems here by him and

there is another in the ninth Book. Here, the name appears as Kaṇva, son of Ghora (Ghaura), while in the *Ṛgveda* itself, the name appears as the son of Nṛṣad (one sitting among valiant men). Here also perhaps we have to distinguish between the poet Kaṇva, who is the son of Ghora, and Kaṇva who moved among the gods, who is the son of Nṛṣad. This name, as the son of Nṛṣad appears only in a few cases, and this is the Kaṇva who moves among the gods.

63. Parucchepa says that his birth was known to many and Kaṇva is one among them, the others being Dadhyañc, Aṅgiras, Priyamedha, Atri and Manu. He was blind and the Aśvins gave him eye-sight back. He is mentioned along with Turvaśa and Yadu as recipients of riches from the Maruts. Agni too is a friend of Kaṇva and conferred protection on him along with Atri, Bharadvāja and Trasadasyu. Agni is spoken of as Kaṇvatama, the best among the Kaṇva family, like Aṅgirastama, the best among the Angirases applied to Agni. Kaṇva himself says that Kaṇva kindled Agni, as given by the gods. This poet is likely to be different from the Kaṇva to whom the gods gave Agni. This is again mentioned in the same poem and it is also in it that Agni conferred happiness to Kaṇva. The poet is Kanva, son of Ghora, and the Kaṇva, associated with Agni, must be the son of Nṛṣad.

Kaṇva, like Kutsa, is not associated with any of the great achievements that are found to the credit of other poets like Yama and Manu and the Aṅgirases and the members of that family and the groups coming within that family and Atri (Bṛhaspati being included among the Aṅgirases). But he too had his position among the gods who had favoured him and helped him. He is remembered by a large number of poets who belonged to his family. They all speak of themselves as Kaṇvas, members of the Kaṇva family in the plural.

ix. MISCELLANEOUS

64. There are many other poets who can claim a place among the founders of the religion and philosophy of the Vedas. Gṛtsamada, Viśvāmitra, Vāmadeva, Bharadvāja and Vasiṣṭha are equally prominent as poets among the founders of the Vedic religion and philosophy. There are also the members of their families who have contributed much to the collection of poetry known as the *Ṛgveda*. But they are not adored by the other poets in their compositions like the poets who have been dealt with above, and they do not have the same association with the gods. The selection has been made on this account. Those poets who have been selected had either contributed something to the establishment of the foundation of religion and philosophy or at least they are remembered as ancient founders of their religion and philosophy by the poets of the *Ṛgveda;* they are also associated with the gods like Indra and Agni and the Aśvins, as recipients of favours and help from them.

65. There are various individuals who had been in danger and who had been saved from the danger by the gods in response to their prayers. There are only allusions to such persons; we do not know the details. It is certain that the persons who are mentioned as recipients of such protection from the gods must have been prominent in life; otherwise they would not have got into the stories. We do not have the stories with us; we have only allusions to them. That shows that the stories must have been familiar to the people of the day. All such persons must find a place among those who have been the early promoters of the civilizations, though they may not have been among the founders. It is also certain that they all played their part in life long before the time of the composition of the poems in which they are alluded to. Stories must have sprang up about them and

such stories must have got currency through poetry. Then they are alluded to in other poems also.

66. In such stories that are alluded to in the *Ṛgveda* the poem is now assigned to certain characters appearing in the poem. It is likely that the characters lived far earlier and some one composed a poem introducing such characters. Then the characters went down as authors of the poems. There is the story of three poets, Ekata, Dvita and Trita, having been on a journey through the desert; they felt thirsty and they came to a well. Trita went down the well and brought water to the top for the others to drink. They all drank the water. Then the other two pushed Trita into the well and closing the well they took away his wealth and went away. Trita prayed to the gods and the gods saved him from the well. The author is given either as Trita, son of Āpta (Āptya) or Kutsa of the Aṅgiras family. It may be a poem of Kutsa in which Trita is only a character. Kutsa in his poems in the first Book of the *Ṛgveda* alludes to a large number of such stories. The commentators have preserved the skeleton of the stories. The stories indicate the antecedent state of the civilization prior to the *Ṛgveda* times. But they cannot be included in this book.

VIII. FORMATION OF THE WORLD

1. The *Ṛgveda* is full of evidences regarding a deep philosophy relating to the Form and also to the Formation of the world. There are innumerable references to this topic throughout the text of the *Ṛgveda.* There are a few poems in which there is a definite description of the topic. They are primarily poetry and they are poetry with a philosophical topic. In the other places we have poetry with a philosophical back-ground. We have only poetry in the *Ṛgveda* and we never have a text book on any philosophical topic. There are a few poems within the *Atharvaveda* collection that are of equal interest from a philosophical point of view; but I confine myself to the *Ṛgveda* in this book. In the case of many of them, we do not know who the poet is; the names given are fictitious and in some, the theme and the poet are the same.

i. EVOLUTION

2. There is a poem of seven verses which contains a very profound philosophy regarding the origin of the world in its evolved condition. The poem deals with the condition prior to the evolution and diversification. The doctrine may not be that there is a real beginning for the world in its evolved condition and that the condition of the world in that prior state is something like what has been described in the poem. The thoughts of the poem are deep and the language is grand.

3. The *Ṛgveda* refers to the two conditions in the world. There is a condition of movement and change and there is also

a condition in which there is no movement and no change. They are known by such pairs of words like *Stātuś caratham*, *Jagatas tasthuṣas* and *Amṛtam martyam*. There is an infinity and there is also a finite state with changes and movements. The unmoving, unchanging condition, where it is all still, where there is no diversification, is the basis for the changing and moving world with diversifications. The process is an eternal one, and it is continuous and simultaneous in the different parts forming the finite world. It is very difficult to say whether there is a change in the infinite, and if there is no such change, how the finite world came at all into being. If the finite world is also there as a distinct and independent reality, then the infinite is not infinite; there is the finite world which is a limitation on the infinity of the infinite world; the infinite becomes finite through such a limitation. If the finite world is not distinct from the infinite world, then there is change and movement within the infinite world and this too is a contradiction in terms. Finite units can never form an infinity. In the infinity there can be no numerical or other measuring units possible.

4. A finite is a finite because there is a beyond. Thus a finite reality is known as " this much and something more ", which " something more " is indefinite. If that " something more " in relation to a specific object is also known, then that " something more " within that original condition comes within such a " this much ", and there is another " something more ". In the infinity there is no element of a " thus much " and it does not also have that " something more ". An infinity is neither a " thus much " nor a " something more ", nor even a combination of the two. The infinite is known by itself. There is no knowing nor a knowledge nor a knower, and as such, it is not an object of a knowledge, through a process within some subject. From the point of view of the finite, it can be designated as what it is not.

i

5. The poem starts with a statement about that infinite. At that time, there was neither a non-being nor a being. There is no absolute non-being nor is there an absolute being within the infinite world. A thing " is not " when there is something else and a thing " is " in relation to something else. Thus we cannot say whether the infinite " is " or " is not ". The word used in the text is " *tadānīm* "; this means " at that time ". Really it must mean " in that state ". We take that infinite as related to the world in the same way in which a thread is related to the final cloth. So in the case of a cloth we speak of the threads as in a certain state " at that time "; that is the time when it was a bundle of threads. But in the case of the finite and the infinite, the term " at that time " is not appropriate. There is no time factor for the infinite in the way in which the threads have a time factor. The cloth is the time limitation for the threads. But the finite world is not a time limitation for the infinite; the infinite remains as infinite even when the finite is formed; it does not terminate like a bundle of threads when the cloth is formed.

6. We speak of the finite things as being in space; in the condition of the infinite, there is no space where the infinite " is ". The infinite " is " just in an absolute way, not here or there. Space is what is either limited by the measurable objects or is not so limited, as the vast space beyond what we see as the substrate of the finite objects. This latter is the supreme expanse, *para vyoman*. The infinite does not exist even in that expanse. There is no space at all as the substrate of the infinite space.

7. In the case of the finite objects we say that there is space all around it. Then what is it that covered the infiinite in that condition of infinity? Where does it rest? Where is it? Was it the deep, the mighty water? The

position is that the infinite has no resting place either in the limited space or in the unlimited expanse, nor does it have a resting place in the deep and mighty ocean.

ii

8. We speak of a thing as such since we know also the state when it was not, either prior or later. We can say that such and such a thing has a beginning and an end and then we can also say as a contrast to it that another thing has neither a beginning nor an end; such a thing is immortal in contrast to the thing having a beginning and an end. In that primal state we cannot say anything about the beginning or the end, and so we cannot also deny the beginning and the end. We experience a phenomenon called light and we speak about the night and the day. In that state, there is no mark, no sign of this distinction of day and night. There was no time at all in that state.

9. There was that One, just by itself. But even in that state, it cannot be said that there was no " life " in it. The " Life Infinite " is there. But when we live, there is the breath as its sign, as a mark; we find some air being blown out. In the case of the infinite, there is " Life ", but no sign of that life. So, there is nothing other than that, beyond of that. The infinite has life; but it does not breathe. It is there just as " One ", and there is nothing other than itself, beyond of that. There is no " this and that "; there is no " here and there ". It is just as " One ", and it has life from within its own power. We live through external factors like food and water and air. But the infinite has life through its own power.

iii

10. In that primal state at the beginning of all, it was all darkness encompassed in darkness. It may be said that

darkness is " what is not ", the absence of light. Then we can even speak of it as something else, what we know as positive. As among the things known to us within the finite world, it is better to speak of it in terms of what are known to us as positive things. So we can say that it is like an expanse of water without anything to mark it out as water. It cannot be known as water. The term was used only to suggest that the infinite is of a positive nature. We know a thing as something positive on account of its being marked out by some sign. We say that a thing is a jar because it has marks which are found in some other things and it does not have features that are found in some other things. The infinite has no such marks, either what are common with others or what are distinct from others. The entirety of this infinite may be spoken of as such an expanse of water without any distinguishing mark in it.

11. That all-encompassing (*Ābhu*) infinite was concealed all around by something which is what cannot be imagined (*Tucchya*), by something which cannot be there and which, yet is there to shroud it. What is infinite cannot be covered up. To say that the infinite has something around it, something covering it, is a contradiction. Yet there was something which kept it hidden. Such an infinity which was hidden became manifest, came into being through its own inherent power. There is the word *Tapas* used, which is what enabled the infinite to become a unit. How is it that it is a unity in itself and how is it that it is hidden from our knowledge? Both its unity and its incognisability are due to the greatness of its own power (*Tapas*). There is the word *Ajāyata*, which means " it was born ". There is no birth or origin. What it means is that it is there in that state always; there is no time nor a state when it was what it is not. The word " Born " is used in the *Ṛgveda* in many places in this sense. There is no indication of a birth nor of an origin. It simply means

" always, by its very nature." Thus when it is said that " Indra was born without a foe," what it means is that never was there a time when he had a foe. There was no enemy born to him. Here too, what the passage means is that it was never other than " One," other than what is concealed from our knowing. It is not like a cloth that covers an object and prevents it from being seen; this is what is meant by the term " *Tucchya* ", what cannot be described, what cannot be even thought of. Its entire nature is from within; there is life (*Ānīt*), there is some power (*Svadhā*), there is some force (*Tapas*).

iv

12. This life and this power and this force imply a " Will." Thus along with these inherent features, there was also the Will. On that infinity there arose a Will. It does not mean that there was a time when that Will was not there. It is there in the beginning (*Agre*), that means, there was no time when it was not there. This Will was the original (*Prathamam*) seed for the mind or, rather, for the mental function. In the infinite nature, it had no mental function. There was not only the *Svadhā*; there was also the life (*Ānīt*). There was *Tapas* too, in the infinite state. What was not in the infinite state is this mental activity. What is called the will (*Kāma*) is not an inherent nature of the infinite. Nor is it a produce; it was always there.

13. I notice some affinity between the theory found in this poem and the theory of evolution found in the Sāṅkhya system. In the *Upaniṣads* we find only the Sāṅkhya system, though the latter has undergone many changes in details. The general line is traceable to the *Upaniṣads*, and that can be traced farther back to this poem. This poem shows that the theory was current at that time, and this theory is the background for the *Ṛgveda*; for this poem, it is also the subject

matter. It is said that in the beginning there was darkness, encompassed in darkness. That is the *Tamo-guṇa* or the material aspect in the basic fundamental of the universe. Then there is the life, what is called the breathing without the breath, the power within. That is the *Sattva-guṇa* or the Light or sentience aspect. Then the *Tapas* is the *Rajo-guṇa*, the activity. On account of these aspects, there was the Will, which corresponds to the Buddhi. This primal feature is the seed for the activity of what is known as the *Antaḥkaraṇa* or the internal thinking faculty; that is the Manas.

14. In itself, it cannot be called either as " is " or as " is not ". From the empirical point of view, it has to be termed as " not existing "; what is existing is what has features, what has the factor of being known. Yet, it is not the " non-being " in our empirical experience. From the empirical point of view, the " being " side is nearer in relationship to the infinite than the " non-being " side. So the poets who have the necessary intuition and the necessary training, are able to realise this " non-being " as a relation of what is experienced as " being ", in their hearts, through their imaginative intuition, after close search.

15. When the poets with trained intuition make the search in their hearts, and when they apply their intuition, then they are able to locate in the " non-being ", the infinite, something akin to what is experienced as " being " in the empirical world. That infinite is not a being in the sense in which the beings in the empirical objects come within our experience; yet when they search deeper they find in the infinite something that is more akin to what is experienced as " being " than what is experienced as " non being ". Their doctrine is that the entire universe is real, is positive. There is a positive basis for this positive world and there is also the " Life " as a fundamental in this universe, which is an inherent constituent of the positive, real infinite.

V

16. There was *Tapas*, the *Rajo-guṇa*, the aspect of activity; there was also the "Life" and the *Svadhā*, the life aspect, the *Sattva-Guṇa*. It is on account of them that the mental function started, there being the Will always in the infinite. There must have been rays of light and rays of activity when the internal organs began to function. These rays of activity began to spread about; one wonders whether they were below or whether they were above, in the beginning. How did they begin to stretch all around, where did they come? This is a mystery unknown to anyone. When this activity started there arose activities which bore the seeds for organic life, also the greatness for the inorganic matter with volume. Spatial extension and life activity are the two factors that arose in the infinite when there was the first activity of the mind. That is the nature of diversification. There arose power from within, there arose movement, below and above. That means that at this stage, there grew up a process of change and movement from within, from below and from above. There was no agent for this process.

VI

17. Was there any one at that time to know this process? Was there any one to explain it to us so that we can know it here? What is it that is to be known and to be explained? The point is the problem whence there was this origination, whence there was this diversification. It was one, and now it has been thrown off in various ways. How can the diverse arise from what was One? It cannot be the gods, who could have known it and who could have explained it; they came into being only after diversification. Then who could know whence this originated, whence it came about?

18. There was no agent for this diversification; it was from within. There was also no agent to know this; there

was no one to explain this. There is no primal Teacher who is Omniscient, to know and to explain the event of the diversification of what was just One. This is a definite Atheism. This is what is found in the Sāṅkhya system also. In the Classical Sāṅkhya there is no original agent for the diversification of the uniform basic fundamental. There is no Omniscient person also, One among the many. All the Puruṣas (Self) were alike. There is no supreme Self.

vii

19. There is something from which there is this diversification. Was it a process of active creation, did he create the diversification or did he not? Was it a natural evolution from within the infinite or was the infinite an active agent in producing the finite world? Perhaps there is some wise being as a witness, as a supervisor, sitting in the highest heaven; he might have been the Lord to control this whole process, to know the process from the very beginning. Sir, if there is such a Lord, then he might know. Perhaps he too does not know. The implication is that there is no such Super Being above to control the process. There is no one who knows it as an eye-witness. The wise poets make a search in their hearts and they know something about that stage of origination through their own powers of intuition.

20. The Sāṅkhya philosophy makes reasoning as the only way to know the truth. There are factors that transcend the powers of reason, and such matters have to be known through intuition and one has to depend on the revelations by such persons having the necessary intuition. There is no God sitting in the highest heaven to work out the process of the change of the infinite into the finite, nor even to control the process; he does not also know that process.

21. The philosophy that can be understood from this poem is what must have been there as the basis of the system

known as the Sāṅkhya in later times. That is the philosophy that is found in the *Upaniṣads*. Here we find no trace of Self, distinct from matter, and what we find is only the infinite that became diversified into matter and activity in the empirical world; the life principle, as an absolute reality was there in that infinite. There was no dualism in that infinite; the infinity was a unity in what could later become matter and life. The dualism between matter and spirit is a later accretion in Indian thought when the idea of salvation, final release, became a powerful factor in the Indian mind. The release must be for something and must be from something. So there must be a Self to gain release; the release so gained must be from the bondages of matter. The strongest point in the later texts on Sāṅkhya for the establishment, through syllogistic reason, of a Self, distinct from matter, is that there is a universal activity with salvation, release, isolation (*Kaivalya*) as the goal. In this grand poem we find the *Ṛgvedic* stage of the Sāṅkhya system of thought.

22. The atheism is very patent and this is the atheism of the Sāṅkhya system; there is no Creator for the world process. The evolution is from within some infinite, which infinite contains within itself the powers of life for the evolution of the world with change and movement. As for some Omniscient Being, who is there, but who is inactive, there is only an Agnosticism. If there is, let Him be there; the probability is that He is not. The uncompromising realism and positivism is also very patent. The infinite which " is not " in the sense in which an empirical fact " is ", is yet more akin to what " is " in the empirical world than to what " is not " in the empirical world. There are certain fundamental concepts in philosophy which are persistent in Indian thought. The world is real and its basic fundamental, the infinite, is also real. A positive thing can never be created from a " no-thing." The evolution of the diversified world is

from within and there is no external agent. Life is a fundamental in the universe. These are the persistent elements in Indian philosophy and we find all of them in this poem.

23. Here is the root of Indian philosophy; in the *Upaniṣads* we find only the stem far above the root of the tree. The root goes down far below the time when the *Ṛgveda* was being composed. This is definitely pre-Vedic. The author is not known. In the ancient indices, Parameṣṭhī (sitting in the supreme abode) Prajāpati (lord of the people) is given as the poet. But he is not a poet. Some poet must have given it as the teaching of the Prajāpati who sits in the highest abode. And it is rather surprising that in that poem there is a doubt, a touch of agnosticism, regarding such a Being who could know the truth, the real beginning of the evolution. It was an old and anonymous poem and it came down with a fictitious authorship.

ii. Transformation

24. There is a poem in the *Ṛgveda* where the process of the formation of the world is dealt with as one of a transformation from an Absolute, thought of as a Person. In this poem there is a clear indication of active agents functioning in the process of this formation. There is also a hint that the Absolute had the awareness of such a process as planned, regulated, controlled and effected by itself as a person. Some real, active agents come into the picture even at the earliest stages of the process, like gods and wise men and demi-gods. The process is pictured as one similar to the process of conducting a ritual of worship by many persons in collaboration. It is even expressly stated in the end that the process of the formation of the world from the Absolute is a ritual of worship, the primal Law of moral life in the universe. The poem is one among the most sacred within the Vedas; people recite the poem as a part of their daily worship. Most of the people

know the whole poem by-heart and they recite it also freely. It is in sixteen verses.

i-iv

25. There is, in the beginning, a description of the Absolute thought of as a Person, with heads and eyes and feet, with size and with all such features of a living person. The Absolute is not like the common person with two feet and two eyes. It has a thousand heads and a thousand eyes and a thousand feet. The number means only an infinity and not a specific number. It is bigger than the whole of the earth, exceeding by even ten inches beyond. This may appear to be too small a size for the Absolute; what is meant is that if we take the whole of the earth, the Absolute extends even beyond that. That Absolute Person is this all, whatever had been born and whatever will be born. It is the overlord of even immortality, and for this reason it expands with the food, offered at the rituals. The greatness of the world is known as so much; the Absolute Person is greater even than that. The entire evolved world is only a fourth of him; the remaining three parts of his are in the immortal celestial region. The Absolute Person in its three quarters rose up to the top; then the one quarter remained here below. With that he was able to traverse the entire evolved world, towards what have food and what do not have the food to eat.

v

26. From such an Absolute Person, there arose a manifolded being (*Virāṭ*); then another Person arose on this manifold being. This latter Person, when he was born, exceeded the earth both behind and before. In the previous poem the Absolute had more an objective nature, with life and life activities as standing behind, not at all clearly manifested. Here the life activities become very prominent in the Absolute.

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When that Absolute got itself diversified, that Diversified Being (*Virāṭ*) became a Person, with activity as an agent. Just as the Absolute was conceived of as a Person, this diversified world also was thought of as a Person.

vi

27. At this stage, the imagery changes slightly. Instead of continuing as an active agent in the evolution of the world, that diversified Person became the object for the performance of the ritual of worship. The activity of evolution is a consciously planned and regulated and controlled one, with agents for the performance, and the Diversified world, as a Person, now is made into the animal that is offered as an oblation at a ritual of worship.

28. The gods were already there during this diversification even at the initial stage and the gods took hold of this being and conducted a ritual of worship in the form of the evolution of the world. The Time was also there divided into seasons. The Spring season became the Ghee (*Ājya*) for the performance of the ritual. The summer season became the sacred fuel and the autumn season became the oblation, perhaps the Soma offering.

vii

29. That Person, the diversified world, that was the first product in the evolution of the world, the gods placed on the cut-grass for being offered as an oblation, as they do in the case of the animal to be offered at the regular rituals of worship, sprinkling it with water and thus making it a fit object for offering at the ritual. With that Oblation, the gods performed the rituals of worship, along with the Sādhyas and the wise poets (*Ṛṣis*) who were already there.

30. In the previous poem the gods were only hinted at, mentioned in a very casual way, and they were dismissed

as of no consequence in the process of the formation of the world. Here they become the active agents in this process of the formation of the world; along with the gods there were also some demi-gods and some primal wise persons, the first poets of the world. They must be the ancient poets about whom there are frequent references in the entire body of the *Ṛgveda*.

viii

31. When the first ritual of worship was performed by the gods along with the Sādhyas and the wise persons, they were able to collect the new butter (*pṛṣad-ājya*). It really means wet butter, butter that was not melted and de-hydrated over fire; at that ritual they had made an offering of the " whole ", the diversified world as a living being. Then they were able to produce those animals, which are in the air, in the woods and in the villages, from that ritual thus performed.

ix, x

32. From that ritual, where the " whole " was offered as an oblation, there arose the poetry of the *Ṛgveda* and of the *Sāmaveda* and there arose the metres from that; there arose the *Yajurveda* too from that. From that ritual there arose the horses and all the animals with the two rows of teeth. The cows were also born from that ritual; thence was also born the goats and the sheep. It must be understood that the animals born along with the horses are only the animals of that family like mules and donkeys.

xi, xii

33. Here as in many cases already noticed, there is a question raised. When that primal Person, the diversified world as personified, was split up into pieces like this, in how

many parts was the division made? What became of the face? What became of the two arms? What became of the two thighs? What became of what are called the feet? The reply is given immediately. His face became the wise men, the poets (Brāhmaṇa). The two arms were made into the fighting classes. What was known as the two thighs, they are what became the Vaiśyas, the rich people doing business and increasing the economic prosperity of the people through various vocations. From the two feet there were created the Śūdras, the working class.

xiii, xiv

34. The body of the diversified world, thought of as a Person, became the people divided according to their function and professions in civic life. Then there are the internal factors in that Person and they also became the various objects of the universe. Mind became the moon and the eyes became the sun. Indra and Agni were born from the face. The air was born from his vital breath. From the navel arose the atmospheric region. There appeared the celestial region from the head. From the two legs there arose the earth, and the space with the cardinal directions came out of the ear. In this way the gods along with the associates were able to fix up the worlds.

xv

35. There were seven surrounding borders for this ritual and there were produced three times seven sacred fuels. When the gods were performing this ritual of worship, they tied down the Person as the animal for being offered at the ritual. I do not know what is meant by the seven borders of the ritual. The word used is *Paridhi*, which means " what is placed all around ". Sāyaṇa says that it is the seven metres starting with the *Gāyatrī* that became these border limits.

36. There is no clue to understand who the gods were who performed this ritual in the primary stage of the evolution, on account of which there arose the various objects of the world. There were also the Sādhyas and the wise persons (Ṛṣis) associated with them in this primal activity of the agents who brought about the formation of the world. Some of the chief gods, Indra and Agni, came into being only out of this performance of the ritual. The sun and the moon too arose out of this ritual.

xvi

37. The poem closes with the same verse which is found towards the close of the poem of Dīrghatamas. The whole world evolution is a process of the same kind as the rituals of worship performed in later times. It would be noticed that according to this closing verse, the Sādhyas and the gods were original and were not the products of the ritual.

38. While in the previous poem we see the Sāṅkhya system of philosophy in its original form, in this poem we see the Vedānta philosophy in the original form. So far as the later stages in the process of the evolution of the world are concerned, the Sāṅkhya and the Vedānta have more or less the same scheme; this is the case with the philosophy of the *Upaniṣads* also. But the great difference between the two currents of thought is that in the Sāṅkhya, the basic fundamental, though endowed with the essentials of life and life activities, is more an objective reality than a subjective agent. In the Vedānta, it has the subjective side in greater prominence. In Sāṅkhya it is called the *Pradhāna*, the *Prakṛti*; in the Vedānta it is called the *Brahman*. The subjective personality is manifest in the term used in the Vedānta; in the Sāṅkhya, the term used signifies more the objective side. In both the currents of thought, matter-life is a unity. The world evolved from that matter-life combination.

39. In this poem we find the Absolute Person and also the later Person. In the Vedānta, in one of its branches, there is the distinction between the Para-Brahman, the Supreme Brahman, and the Brahman with attributes (*Saguṇa-Brahman*). The *Upaniṣads* say about this Absolute Brahman that there was a volition, a will, in it that it should become manifold. This life activity in the Absolute is not made a very prominent factor in the previous poem, though life and life-activity are there. There was *Kāma* and there was also *Tapas*, in that absolute. In this poem, the Absolute is described in the form of a Person with heads and eyes and feet. This poem is the starting point in the development of the current of thought which culminated in the Vedānta through the *Upaniṣads*, while the previous poem marks the starting point in another current of thought which had its own characteristic features so far as the earlier stages in the formation of the phenomenal world from the Absolute are concerned. One tended to atheism while the other gave the impetus to theism. Even here in this poem we do not see a really personal god. The activity is in the gods and their collaborators; there is also no creation. What we have is only a formation of something positive from the Absolute that is also positive.

40. As in the case of nearly all the poems dealt with in this book, there is some difficulty regarding the author of this poem; according to the ancient indices, the poet is Nārāyaṇa. Nārāyaṇa is a " descendent of Nara "; Nara is a valiant hero. The valour is most prominent in the meaning of this word. The word *Nara* is very often used in the *Ṛgveda* as an epithet of the gods, especially in the case of the Maruts and of the Aśvins. In later Sanskrit, the word means only " man ".

41. In the later epics the pair Nara and Nārāyaṇa appear rather prominently. There it is Nārāyaṇa, the descendent of Nara, who is the Supreme and Nara, the originator

of the line is only a subordinate figure. Nārāyaṇa is the name of the great God Viṣṇu in the later language. There are various etymologies suggested for the word. When the *Ṛgveda* collection was made and when the indices for the poets and the themes and the metres were prepared, Nārāyaṇa must have become the name of the great God. Even in the later phases of the Vedic literature, the word has acquired that significance. The word itself does not occur in the *Ṛgveda*. But the word appears in some other texts of the Vedas, even the original texts; it is a relatively rare occurrence. In the case of the other poems where we find a confusion of the poet and the theme, the name appeared in the poem itself, as in the case of Yama. That is the case with Hiraṇyagarbha and Viśvakarman. In the case of the poems by the well-known poets also, they often give their own names in the poem and use the verb in the third person though naturally we expect the first person both in the pronoun and in the verb, without the name itself appearing in it. There is nothing to identify either the Absolute Person or the evolved Person in this poem, with the later great God bearing the name of Nārāyaṇa, so far as the poem or the text of the *Ṛgveda* is concerned. The assignment of the authorship of the previous poem to Parameṣṭhī Prajāpati, is also of the same nature. In neither of the poems does the name of the author appear. We have to deal with the philosophical current and not with the philosopher in these cases.

iii. CONSTRUCTION

42. There are two sets of poems in which the process of the formation of the world takes still another form. In the first of the two poems already dealt with the element of an agent in the formation of the world remained in the back, very faintly seen in the front. In the second poem the Absolute itself had some prominent element of agency with

reference to the process of the formation; at a later stage there came on the scene many such agents; the entire evolved world owed for its formation to the activity of such agents, the gods and the Sādhyas and the wise persons (*Ṛṣis*). Now we come to a current of thought in which we see practically nothing of an Absolute; we come across an agent who had really constructed the world as an architect builds a house. There is a set of two poems and there is another poem. The central idea is more or less the same; but there is a difference in the architect of this construction. They are dealt with under two further sub-sections, for this reason.

A. HIRAṆYA-GARBHA

43. *Hiraṇya* is gold and *Garbha* is the womb. The whole world arose out of the activity of this Hiraṇya-Garbha. The poem about Hiraṇya-Garbha consists of ten verses. The poem is assigned to Hiraṇyagarbha as the poet. The subject matter is also the same Hiraṇyagarbha. The poem must be by some one and since the poet was not known it was assigned to Hiraṇyagarbha, the god, who is dealt with in the poem. For this reason, I assign this poem too to a very ancient period in the Vedic age. I am not ruling out the possibility of a later poet concealing his own name to pass it on to a god as the poet, so that it might acquire some sort of sanctity. But we must understand that all poems were not included within the *Ṛgvedic* collection. There was a process of sifting and filtering. The fact that this has found its way to the collection shows that it was of an ancient period, with its author unknown at that time. This will apply to the next set of two poems assigned to Viśvakarman with Viśvakarman himself as the theme also of the poem.

44. In all the nine verses in the poem (except the last one) there is the refrain passage: " To which god may we make offerings with the oblation? " The implication is that

the offering of the oblation must be made to Hiraṇyagarbha and to no one else. Hiraṇyagarbha is glorified in all the verses in subordinate clauses beginning with the relative pronoun; then there is the question asked as a refrain line at the end. The name Hiraṇyagarbha occurs only in the first verse. The implication is that whatever is said in the different verses can apply only to that Hiraṇyagarbha.

i

45. The poem starts with a glorification of Hiraṇyagarbha with the name expressly mentioned. In the beginning there existed Hiraṇyagarbha. He is the sole one born as the lord of what is evolved into being. He held up the heaven and the earth. After this statement about Hiraṇyagarbha, there is the question. The meaning is that he is the only god who deserves to be worshipped with the oblation offered.

ii

46. The remaining eight verses may be construed more or less on the following model, based on the second verse: " To which god shall we make an offering with the oblation, the god who is the giver of the Self, who is the giver of vitality, whose orders the whole world honours and accepts, whose orders the gods honour, whose shadow is the immortal, whose shadow is the death? "

iii-vi

47. He has become the sole lord of the world through the greatness of whatever breathes and whatever keeps the eyes closed and he lords over the group of the bipeds and the quadrupeds. The mountains with their tops covered with snow, the oceans and the rivers exist on account of his greatness. The directions in space also exist as his arms. It is on account of him that the heaven is so majestic and the

earth is so firm; it is he who fixed the celestial regions and the vault of heaven. He measures the expanse of space in the atmospheric regions. The heaven and the earth, both getting fixed on account of his protection, brighten up intensely and look on with their minds; it is there that the sun, when it rises, shines.

vii

48. There is a slight change in the structure of the sentence at this stage; instead of describing the greatness of the god in a sentence with a relative pronoun referring to that god, there is a statement here. When the great waters went up to the entire universe, bearing the womb and producing Agni (Fire), then he arose as the one life of the gods; then there is the same question.

viii, ix

49. The construction of the sentence as in previous verses comes back in the next verse. It was he who was able to find out through his greatness, the waters that were bearing the dexterity and that produced the ritual of worship; he was the one god among the gods. To which god shall we make the offering with the oblation, having this greatness? He, being the generator of the earth, does not do any harm to us; he, having the true Law within him, produced the heaven. He produced the great and charming waters.

x

50. The concluding verse is an address to Prajāpati; there must be identity between the Hiraṇyagarbha mentioned in the first verse and the Prajāpati (Lord of the people) mentioned here at the close of the poem. O Prajāpati, none other than you can encompass all these things that are born and

that have been mentioned above. Whatever wishes we may have when we invoke you, let those things come to us; may we remain lords of riches.

51. There is nothing that can be called a philosophy in this poem. We do not know, either, who the poet is. But whereas, in a previous poem the evolution was stated to be from within with no agent for this activity, this poem represents another line of thought regarding the formation of the world. There is a great architect who is working all the while fashioning the world. The facts mentioned in this poem are familiar throughout the *Ṛgveda,* as the functions and as the powers of the various gods like Indra, Agni and Soma. But here is a poem in which all such powers and functions are mentioned as belonging to a particular god and that god is essentially the architect of the world. For this reason, the poem is included in this book; this shows a certain line of thought current at that time, regarding the formation of the world.

B. VIŚVAKARMAN

52. Viśvakarman is another god of the same type as the Hiraṇyagarbha. The word means the maker (*Karman*) of all (*Viśva*). There are two short poems about his activity and about himself; the two poems are also assigned to him as the author. It is in the same position as the poem of Hiraṇyagarbha. We do not know who the poet is. We have only a poem and certain lines of thought described in the poem. In these two poems we get something more about the philosophy of the formation of the world than what we find in the poem on Hiraṇyagarbha. He too is an architect of the world, one who has planned and constructed the world. In later Sanskrit, Hiraṇyagarbha became the name of the Creator, Brahmā, among the three great gods (Trimūrti). Viśvakarman became the architect of the gods.

i

53. Each poem contains seven verses. The poet is given in the indices as Viśvakarman, son of Bhuvana (Bhauvana). Hiraṇyagarbha was the son of Prajāpati. We have noticed that the poem on Hiraṇyagarbha started with Hiraṇyagarbha and ended with Prajāpati. He who, having made an oblation or offering with this entire universe, remains the poet (*Ṛṣi*), the invoker, the father of us; he longed for riches through his poems of blessings and, covering first the world, he entered those who came later. Here also there is a hint of the first ritual of worship at the beginning of the formation of the world. That is how he is the father of us all. He encompassed the whole universe and he entered the objects that came later as their life. The entire life activity in this world is due to him.

ii

54. If Viśvakarman encomposed the entire world and if later he entered the beings in the world, what was the position which he had taken up before he encompased the world and entered the beings? What was the method in which he started the process? And when was it started? What was the situation when, creating the earth, Viśvakarman encompassed the heaven through his own powers, being able to view everything?

iii

55. Perhaps the next verse is a sort of reply to the previous question. He does not want any such place to sit on, as a potter wants when he makes a pot. He can cast his eyes on everything in all direction. He has also his face turned towards all directions. He can extend his arms too in all directions. He can put his feet also everywhere in the world. Being the sole God, when he created the heaven and the earth, he could blow the bellows with his arms and with

his wings. So the question of the place where he took his seat and other questions do not arise.

iv

56. Still there are other questions that will arise. When an architect builds a house, he wants timber and the timber must be brought from some forest. What was the forest from which he could collect the timber and what was the timber which he made use of when he constructed the heaven and the earth? Intelligent people may ask this question in their mind, what was the support on which he took his seat when he held up the world.

v

57. The poet says that there is no reply possible for him to offer. Perhaps Viśvakarman alone can give the reply. So he addresses the next verse to Viśvakarman. He must have had his abodes far above, he must have had his abodes far below; he must have had his abodes in the middle region. These are the abodes he must have had when he had been constructing the heaven and the earth. When there is the oblation offered, let Viśvakarman give the instruction regarding such points; he has his own inherent powers. Let him also perform a ritual of worship, himself in the form of his construction and let him expand his own body. The poet is singing his poem during a ritual; he had his companions and some among them may ask such questions. Let Viśvakarman himself give the proper reply. Just as they are performing the ritual with their seats and with their materials, let Viśvakarman show the process of creation in the form of a ritual, expanding his body to encompass the whole world. The poet is not able to satisfy the curiosity of his companions on the matter.

vi

58. He continues his address to Viśvakarman. Let him expand himself with his materials for oblation and let him utilise the earth and the heaven as materials for such a ritual. It may be that the other people sitting around here at this ritual of men, may have their own mental perplexities in this matter; as for the poet himself there is only Indra who is wise enough to tell them what actually took place at the time of the construction of the heaven and the earth. Or it may be that the people outside may have their own perplexities in this matter; for those within that ritual, there is Indra as the wise person to clear their doubts.

vii

59. Then the poet addresses the people assembled at the ritual. He asks them to invoke the aid of Viśvakarman, the lord of songs, who can move himself with the speed of the mind, so that he may give them protection, during that ritual. Let him take satisfaction in all their entire acts of invocations, so that he might render protection to them, since he is the source for the happiness of the whole world, since he does what is right.

i

60. The poem ends at this stage and another poem is started, with seven verses in it as in the previous one. Viśvakarman is the father of the eye (light); he is firm and intelligent in his mind. He created this pair of heaven and earth, that were sunk in the water. First, the earlier borders got separated and fixed up. Thereafter the heaven and the earth got spread out.

ii, iii

61. Viśvakarman, with the mind spreading in all different directions, himself moving in all directions, the creator

and the controller, is the supreme, and also seeing rightly. People revel together enjoying whatever is sought after by them, through the oblations, in this ritual where they speak of him as superior to the seven poets. The seven poets take part in the ritual; but Viśvakarman is spoken of as far greater than the seven put together. He who is the father having originated us, he who is the controller for us, he knows the abodes, all the created worlds. He bears the names of the gods, being himself just One. Him the other worlds approach with their own questions.

iv

62. Those ancient poets have made offerings of riches as oblations at the ritual of worship, as singers do with their offerings in plenty. When the space remained as what was dark and what was bright, those ancient poets made the created worlds holy. The poet, perhaps, has in his mind the ancient wise people mentioned in the poem on the Person (*Puruṣa*), where they associated themselves with the gods in the primal ritual of worship. In the third verse also, it is the same wise persons that are meant by the seven poets. In the rituals there are seven such wise people, the leaders of the ritual. In the primal ritual, the seven wise people took part along with the gods. At that early period, the space was dark and also bright. Just as people purify the Soma and other articles in the present rituals, they purified these created worlds as objects for oblations in the primal ritual.

v

63. The waters bore the womb for the first time whence this world arose. What was that womb like? It is in that womb within the waters that the gods stood and began to have a view, prior to their activity in the form of a ritual of worship, which originated the world. That womb must

have been prior to the heaven, prior to this earth, prior even to the gods and the demons. This is a question.

vi

64. The reply is given in the following verse. The womb which the waters bore was of this nature. It is there that all the gods assembled and had their view. That one was placed within the navel of the immortal; there all the created worlds remained. The poet says further in the next verse that the assembled people do not know him who crated these worlds. There is something that is entirely different from them all. There are poets who wander about, giving satisfaction to your life, concealed in mist, talking what we cannot understand.

vii

65. The closing verse is addressed by the poet to the people assembled at the ritual of worship. Though some reply was given in the previous verse, this is a warning that even with such a reply they cannot understand who it is that originated these objects in the world. They cannot be seen, since they are concealed from man's view like a person hidden in mist. They cannot understand their language either. But there are poets who sing about the situation. They are quite different from all of them. In this verse there is the picture of the robbers who move about concealed from the view of others behind the mist and talking a language and giving signs which they alone, and not others, can understand.

66. In these three poems there is a clear indication of the doctrine of a supreme agent for the manifestation of the world in physical formation. The function of this agent is only to construct the world, to give it a shape and a form, to regulate the functions and positions of each part according to the law. There is no material created which did not at all exist prior.

Nor is there any formulation of a set of Laws which did not exist. To this extent, there is no theism. Yet as a supreme agent, there is a God and the doctrine can, to this extent, be called Theism.

iv. COMPARISON

67. In the three poems explained in this chapter, there are noticed three distinct currents of thought regarding the formation of the manifest world from some Absolute. We do not meet with any philosopher; we find only some thoughts. We do not know who the poets are so that we can trace the views to any particular individual thinkers. The clear demarcation between the primal Absolute and the manifest world cannot be missed by any one. The great difference between the views relates to the agent. Did the world evolve from the Absolute by itself? Or is there anything like an active agent that we note as related to the origination of things in our experience?

68. The first of the five poems stands by itself. Here we see nothing that can be compared to such an agent working for the bringing into manifestation what was really an Absolute. Life is there; but the life activity in it is subordinate to the Absolute as the material from which the manifest world arose. That Absolute is not at all an agent. It is the substance, and the life element is there only to enable it to function from within towards the evolution.

69. In the second poem we find the same Absolute as having some features in common with the agents that we know of in our experience. Yet that Absolute is not in itself an active agent. Even the personified evolute from that, the manifold which is again thought of as a person, is also not an active agent. That by itself becomes again the material which was handled by some agents, namely, the gods and the Sādhyas and the wise people. Except the fact

that the Absolute and the first evolute from it are regarded as Persons, there is no agency for the Absolute nor for the first evolute. It is not specified here that the gods and the other agents came out of the primal Absolute at the stage of its transformation into a Personal Absolute, a secondary Absolute which is an evolute from the primal Absolute. I think that the manifolding mentioned in this content, the *Virāj*, includes the gods and their associates. This manifolding thus contains both the material and also the agents. At this stage, the agents come into great prominence.

70. The remaining three poems form another unit; here the Absolute, though indicated, is in the back-ground and the agent comes to view in a conspicuous way. Here the agent is not the collection of the gods and their associates; the Agent is a Supreme god, some one who is Almighty and All-pervading and All-knowing. It is not said that he supplied the material from within himself. There is a pantheistic touch in this doctrine of a Supreme God-head as the agent. There is nothing beyond of that God. There is no actual dualism as God and matter found in this doctrine. The *Nyāya-Vaiseṣika* doctrine of a God as an agent is clear in this group of poems. *Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika* is dualistic in doctrine, God and matter being distinct from each other. There is a monism in origination in the first two poems. The difference between them is only in the respective emphasis in them regarding the Agency aspect and the content aspect for the origination of the world. This is also the fundamental difference between the Sāṅkhya and the Vedānta. In the first half of the Vedānta Sūtras, the controversy is about the Absolute that is meant in the *Upaniṣadic* passages. Is it the Sāṅkhya basic fundamental, the Prakṛti, the Pradhāna, with its predominant factor of being the material, or is it the Vedānta Brahman with its sentience aspect predominating? This is the real centre of the controversy. In the Vedānta, the

material for the world came out of that Brahman, and in the original Sāṅkhya as found in the Ṛgveda, the sentience, the life side of the world came from the Pradhāna. The Absolute has both aspects in both currents of thought.

71. The chief interest in the Nyāya system of thought is that it recognises an agent for the formation of the world. It may not be so very plain in the early texts of the system. An agent is a necessary factor in all causal aggregates. If the world is an effect, it can be the effect only of some agent's activity. In the last three poems in this chapter, the construction side of the formation of the world is what is made most prominent. There is an architect in that construction. There is practically little of importance attached to the problem of an Absolute from which the world arose. There is reference to some Supreme. But that is not the Absolute condition of the content of the world.

72. When there is evolution of some Absolute into the phenomenal world, then the world must be some sort of expanse of a uniform. The process is one of variation in diversification. The diversification is in the matter of fineness, in the nature of the waves or movements in this expanse. When it is construction, there is an assemblage of parts. That naturally leads to the theory of the smallest part. There is also the agent to put the parts together.

73. We do not find the latter-day terminology of the philosophical systems of India in the *Ṛgveda* like the atoms and the *Guṇas*. We do not find such terms like the *Aṇu* (Atom) the *Sattva*, *Rajas* and *Tamas* as the three constituents (*Triguṇas*) of Sāṅkhya. We do not know when they found their way into the philosophical literature of the country. We do not find also the difference between a Paramātman and a Jīvātman (Supreme Self and individual self). We see also nothing of suffering and of release as factors in philosophical speculation. Gods are just touched upon in the first poem;

they become the active agents in the second poem. In the third set of three poems, we see only a Supreme God-head; we hear about gods and they are not of much consequence.

74. There is a poem by Bṛhaspati, one of the two, in which the central topic was the coming into being of the gods. This step is not mentioned in the Poem on the person (*Puruṣa*). The poem of Bṛhaspati fits into the picture of the poem about the Person. Both together give us a fuller picture of the process of the formation of the world. In the poem on the Person, there is no mention of how the gods came into being. In the poem of Bṛhaspati it is made quite clear.

75. In all the other poems dealt with before, we find some great importance attached to the poets. In these six poems where there is something described regarding the formation of the world, the poets also go behind the curtain. We hear about the *Ṛṣis*; but they are not the poets who give joy to the gods. They are, rather, some primal beings. In those pieces from the great poets we see the search for the light and illumination as the most conspicuous point. Yama had the illumination and Bṛhaspati and the Aṅgiras were poets, in search of illumination, associated with Indra in the recovery of the light, thought of as cows. All the other teachers were great poets and their relation with the gods and their part in the early stages, was one of poets. Bṛhaspati and Dīrghatamas extol poetry.

76. We find two layers in the thought construction of the Vedas. In one layer we find the formation of the world from an Absolute and in the other layer, we find the activity of man to find out the reality which formed the foundation of the world. We know actual names in the case of those who were searching for light in the matter of the relations of the phenomenal world to its basic Absolute. In the case of those who deal with the problem of the formation of the phenomenal world from that Absolute we do not know who

the teachers were. We have only the teaching reflected in the poems that have such a current of thought in the back-ground. In this section, we find little of the genius of poets, except to the extent that the problem is presented in the form of high-class poetry. In the section relating to the search for and achievement of the light, there is no difference between poetry and the wisdom about the reality of the world.

77. There is no teacher who received the illumination from an external source like a God. There is a distinction drawn, rather in a very sharp way, between one who knows, that means one who is a poet, and one who does not know. Dīrghatamas says that a poet has a double personality. He is a poet in one personality and he is an ordinary man in the other personality. But there is no clash between the two as two conflicting groups among the citizens. There is no social isolation; there is no aloofness through conceit. As citizens they live together; the difference was only in the matter of the performance of the rituals, in which only these who had the illumination as poets (Brāhmaṇas) could have a part, as stated by Bṛhaspati.

78. There is no system of a " One Teacher " with Dogmas, with what that One Teacher has shown as the right way. There were differences between philosopher and philosopher. They all sat together and they formed a unity. Ritualism, introspection, poetry—all went together. There is no part of the *Ṛgveda* where there is no back-ground of ritualism; there is no ritualism without poetry and there is no poetry without wisdom, without introspection. There is always search for the light, and light had been seen by many. This is the state of affairs prior to the time of the available, present, text of the *Ṛgveda*. The *Ṛgveda* took up and continued the same prior state of affairs and the same system continued ever after.

IX. SAMVANANA

(INTEGRATION)

1. No literature other than the Vedas records the activities of so many persons coming together who are highly trained in matters relating to and coming within the intellect of man and who are also endowed with intuition and the power of vision to see and realise the truth of the world which transcends normal human intellect. What is called the Vedas, the foundation of India's civilization in all its activities, is the record of about three hundred poets who had a vision of the true nature of the objects of the world coming within the normal experience of the people. They are, further, reminiscent of similar intellectual activities of a large number of people with vision who had preceded them.

2. When there is the intellectual activity of such a large number of gifted persons, there can be no uniformity in the matter of their findings, in the matter of what they had realised. There is the objective reality; that is the same. But there is also the subjective side; it is the intellect of the people with vision that had the realisation, and on this subjective side there must be differences. There is occasion for a further differentiation when it comes to a question of the expression of their experience in language form. Then there are the people who are to understand what they try to express in language form; here there is a still wider scope for differences. A regimentation of human intellect is impossible

and such an attempt at regimentation is only a prelude to the crippling of man's intellect.

3. Differences are likely to deteriorate into conflicts. One cannot persuade himself to believe that what he has realised is not the truth. When he has realised something as truth, then what is different from that cannot also be the truth. If whatever is experienced is truth and if truth can be this and that and anything, then truth loses its value There is then no differences between what is true and what is false. If what is realised by this man alone is true, then there is conflict between this man and that man when they have their own separate realisations, each differing from the other. Either such a state of conflict must continue or one of them must be arbitrarily selected and forcibly made current among the people and all the others must be suppressed as in conflict with what is true, which is only the one selected. This requires physical power, and this results in an alliance between the conquerors or the empire-builders with physical power and the Priests with their dogmas about truths.

4. Besides the many people who have their own views about the truth, there are also many gods coming into the picture. Every such god is supreme. What is supreme can be only one and not many. If there are more than one, then only one can remain and the others have to be denounced as the object of worship by people blinded by superstition. Here also the alliance between the empire-builders and the Priests becomes a necessity. It is not possible to completely eradicate the differences either in the matter of views or in the matter of the gods. Thus, religion with the views about truth and about gods becomes an occasion for feud among the peoples. This is just the opposite of what the religion has started for.

5. There is another way. Difference is an integral part of the world; there is no world unless there are differences.

Without such differences there is only the Absolute. The Absolute is One; but that one manifests itself in different ways and such manifestations of the One Absolute in different aspects constitute the world. This and that and everything together form the Absolute in phenomenal manifestation. The differences can remain together. If two things are different from each other, there is no conflict between them. It is their nature to be different from each other.

6. It is the empire-builders and the Priests with their Dogmas that find mutual conflict in what are different. As a matter of fact, *Śaṅkarācārya* starts his commentary on the Brahmasūtras in the Vedānta with this theory that things are different not because there are conflicts among them, but simply because one is not the other. His commentator, Vācaspati Miśra makes the point clear in the Bhāmatī. One need not be the other; yet the two can exist together. Sa'adi, the great Persian poet says that two servants of God (Dervishes) can remain together on a small carpet, while two kings cannot live together in a vast kingdom. There is only one Caesar. But there can be many devotees of God and many seekers of truth.

7. Many seekers of truth came together in India at the time of the Vedas; they saw the truth; but their pictures were not identical with one another. It was also noticed that the pictures painted by the same person about the truth on different occasions and in different conditions were not identical. The differences were only in the picture of the truth and not in the truth itself. The people were prepared to take all the pictures as the pictures of the same truth. There was no occasion for a conflict between individual and individual about the truth, truth being One, and truth being the same, for all. Many had different pictures of their own, and they all had different pictures of the truth. In the picture there is also the personality besides the objective truth. When the personality is eliminated, then there is only one truth.

8. The Veda is the collection of such pictures of the truth reflected from the intuition of the different seekers who had a vision of the truth. The entire Veda was also accepted as being the reflection of the truth on the intuition of all the seekers. The Indian view is that the Vedas were revelations of the truth as some inner illumination and not as a gift from some Super-agent, for all the poets had the vision of that truth, as a totality, as a unity.

9. It is this tradition of impersonality, of tolerance, that continued in India; that is how when Buddha came up at a much later time, he was honoured by every one that counted at that time. The amalgamation of the temple worship and of the Vedic rituals into a single religious system, the tolerance shown to Buddhism, the tolerance extended to the materialists called the Cārvākas, the tolerance of the Jews and the Christians and the Muslims, the welcome to the Zoroastrians—all of them are natural consequences of that original genius of the people. The harmonious development of religion, philosophy, sciences and art is also the effect of this original genius of the nation. No view was disallowed from public discussion; no one was persecuted for holding a view about truth. The foundation for such a state of affairs, unknown to any other nation in the world, was laid firmly in the Vedic period itself. People with different intellectual abilities, people following different professions and avocations—all together formed a united nation. The founders of religion and philosophy did not formulate any set of dogmas. They formulated a particular mode of approach to the problems of life. They did not say that for the first time truth has been revealed and that such a revelation is also for the last time, there remaining nothing more to be revealed. They have only shown the path; each has to walk along the path and find out his direction for himself.

10. One of the poets whose contribution finds a place in the *Ṛgveda* collection is called Saṁvanana. Like so many other names, the name may be one with which he was known on account of some intellectual feature. The word means common (*Saṁ*) will (*vanana*). He belonged to the Aṅgiras family. His poem, just one, comes at the very end of the *Ṛgveda*, and that perhaps sums up the philosophy of life, developed in the Vedic times. The poem enunciates the philosophy of the nation's emotional integration. Indian history can be a correct history of India, a true presentation of the genius and the achievements, intellectual and material, of the Indian nation, only if it is a natural continuation of the last poem in the *Ṛgveda* collection.

11. There is only this one small poem of just four verses by Saṁvanana in the *Ṛgveda* collection. But that is enough; it establishes his name as a spokesman of the ideals of those days. He deserves to be considered as one among the important founders of India's culture. The poem starts with a prayer to Agni (Fire) to bring about unity among all. Then there is a general prayer in three verses for the continuance of unity among the people. I give the text with a free translation as a fitting end for the Book. It may be noted that they can think and express only in terms of the rituals.

(1) *Sam sam id yuvase vṛṣann agne viśvāny arya ā*
Iḷas pate sam idhyase sa no vasūny ā bhara

O Agni the strong, you the noble one bring the utmost union among all. You shine in the earthly abode. May he bring prosperity to us.

(2) *sam gacchadhvam sam vadadhvam sam vo manāṁsi jānatam*
devā bhāgam yathā pūrve sam jānānā upāsate

Go together; speak in unison. May your mind understand things in harmony. Let it be like the ancient gods, knowing their share in the offerings, go near to it.

(3) *Samāno mantraḥ samitiḥ samānī*
samānam manaḥ saha cittam eṣām
samānam mantram abhi mantraye vaḥ
samānena vo haviṣā juhomi

Let there be harmony in your confidential consultations; let there be the harmonious assembly. May the mind be in unison, along with its activities. I address you a common message as a secret advice. I invoke you all with a similar offering.

(4) *samānī va ākūtiḥ samānā hṛdayāni vaḥ*
samānam astu vo mano yathā vaḥ susahāsati

May your intentions be the same; may your hearts be in harmony. May your minds be in harmony. Thereby may you remain held together.

APPENDIX

Poems in the Ṛgveda with meanings

II. Bṛhaspati

X—71

1. bṛhaspate prathamam vāco agram
yat prairata nāmadheyan dadhānaḥ
yad eṣām śreṣṭham yad aripram āsīt
premṇā tad eṣām nihitaṅ guhāviḥ

bṛhaspate O Bṛhaspati. *prathamam* first. *vācaḥ* of the language. *agram* topmost. *yat* which. *pra airata* they let out. *nāmadheyam* name. *dadhānaḥ* who held. *yat* which. *eṣām* of these. *śreṣṭham* supreme. *yat* which. *aripram* faultless. *āsīt* had been. *premṇā* through love. *tat* that. *eṣām* of these. *nihitam* concealed. *guhā* in the cave. *āviḥ* revealed.

2. saktum iva titaunā punanto
yatra dhīrā manasā vācam akrata
atrā sakhāyaḥ sakhyāni jānate
bhadraiṣām lakṣmīr nihitādhi vāci

saktum iva like flour. *tita-unā* with a winnowing basket. *punantaḥ* cleaning. *yatra* where. *dhīrāḥ* having intellectual talents. *manasā* with the mind. *vācam* language. *akrata* constructed. *atra* here. *sakhāyaḥ* companions. *sakhyāni* companionships. *jānate* know. *bhadrā* auspicious. *eṣām* of these. *lakṣmīḥ* lustre. *nihitā* concealed. *adhi vāci* in the language.

3. yajñena vācaḥ padavīyam āyan
tam anv avindann ṛṣiṣu praviṣṭām
tām ābhṛtyā vyadadhuḥ purutrā
tām sapta rebhā abhi san navante

yajñena through the worship. *vācaḥ* for the language. *padavīyam* propriety. *āyan* they attained, they understood. *tām* that. *anu avindan* they recognised. *ṛṣiṣu* in the poets. *praviṣṭām* what had entered. *tām* that. *ābhṛtya* having taken hold of. *vi adadhuḥ* they spread. *purutrā* in many places. *tām* that. *sapta* seven. *rebhāḥ* poets. *abhi* addressing the audience. *sam navante* they praise.

4. uta tvaḥ paśyan na dadarśa vācam
uta tvaḥ śṛṇvan na śṛṇoty enām
uto tvasmai tanvam vi sasre
jāyeva patya uśatī suvāsāḥ

uta and. *tvaḥ* some one. *paśyan* looking on. *na* not. *dadarśa* saw. *vācam* language. *uta* and. *tvaḥ* some one. *śṛṇvan* listening to. *na* not. *śṛṇoti* hears. *enām* this. *uto* and. *tvasmai* to some one. *tanvam* form. *vi sasre* reveals. *jāyā iva* like a wife. *patye* to the husband. *uśatī* loving. *suvāsāḥ* wearing fine robes.

5. uta tvam sakhye sthirapītam āhur
nainam hinvanty api vājineṣu
adhenvā carati māyayaiṣa
vācam śuśruvā̃ aphalām apuṣpām

uta and. *tvam* some one. *sakhye* in the companionship. *sthirapītam* well protected. *āhuḥ* they speak of. *na* not. *enam* him. *hinvanti* injure. *api* even. *vājineṣu* in battles. *adhenvā* with a cow not yielding milk. *carati* wanders about. *māyayā* in delusion. *eṣaḥ* this man. *vācam* language. *śuśruvān* having heard. *aphalām* what has no fruits. *apuṣpām* what has no flowers.

6. yas tityāja sacividam sakhāyam
na tasya vācy api bhāgo asti
yad īm śṛṇoty alakam śṛṇoti
nahi praveda sukṛtasya panthām

yaḥ who. *tityāja* abandoned. *sacividam* having a common knowledge. *sakhāyam* companion. *na* not. *tasya* his. *vāci* in the language. *api* even. *bhāgaḥ* portion, what is to be enjoyed. *asti* there is. *yat* what. *īm* this man. *śṛṇoti* one hears. *alakam* false. *śṛṇoti* one hears. *na hi* not indeed. *praveda* knows. *sukṛtasya* of the good deed. *panthām* path.

7. akṣaṇvantaḥ karṇavantaḥ sakhāyo
manojaveṣv asamā babhūvuḥ
ādaghnāsa upakakṣāsa u tve
hradā iva snātvā u tve dadṛśre

akṣaṇvantaḥ having eyes. *karṇavantaḥ* having ears. *sakhāyaḥ* companions. *manojaveṣu* in the matter of the speed of the mind. *asamāḥ* unequal. *babhūvuḥ* became. *ā-daghnāsaḥ* up to the nose. *upa-kakṣāsaḥ* up to the chest. *u* certainly. *tve* some. *hradāḥ iva* like lakes. *snātvāḥ* fit for bath. *u* certainly. *tve* some. *dadṛśre* have been seen.

8. hṛdā taṣṭeṣu manaso javeṣu
yad brāhmaṇāḥ saṁyajante sakhāyaḥ
atrāha tvam vi jahur vedyābhir
ohabrahmāṇo vi caranty u tve

hṛdā with the mind. *taṣṭeṣu* when there have been determined. *manasaḥ* of the mind. *javeṣu* the speed. *yad* when. *sam yajante* sit together and perform the worship. *atra* there. *aha* well. *tvam* some one. *vi jahur* abandoned. *vedyābhiḥ* by what is worthy of being known. *ohabrahmāṇaḥ* real poets. *vi caranti* move about. *u* certainly. *tve* some.

9. ime ye nārvāṅ na paraś caranti
na brāhmaṇāso na sutekarāsaḥ
ta ete vācam abhipadya pāpayā
sirīs tantram tanvate aprajajñayaḥ

ime these. *ye* who. *na* not. *arvāṅ* in recent times. *na* not. *paraḥ* in ancient times. *caranti* move about. *na* not. *brāhmaṇāsaḥ* poets. *na* not. *sutekarāsaḥ* who perform the pressing of the Soma. *te* they. *ete* these. *vācam* language. *abhipadya* having understood. *pāpayā* in an out of the way manner. *sirīḥ* spindle. *tantram* thread. *tanvate* produce. *aprajajñayaḥ* not understanding properly.

10. sarve nandanti yaśasāgatena
sabhāsahena sakhyā sakhāyaḥ
kilbiṣaspṛt pituṣaṇir hy eṣām
aram hito bhavati vājināya

sarve all. *nandanti* congratulate. *yaśasā* with the glory. *āgatena* that has come. *sabhāsahena* who is worthy of sitting in the assembly. *sakhyā* on account of the companion. *sakhāyaḥ* companions. *kilbiṣaspṛt* what destroys the faults. *pituṣaṇih* what brings the drinks. *hi* indeed. *eṣām* to them. *aram hitaḥ* properly placed. *bhavati* becomes. *vājināya* to take part in the worship.

11. ṛcām tvaḥ poṣam āste pupuṣvān
gāyatram tvo gāyati śakvarīṣu
brahmā tvo vadati jātavidyām
yajñasya mātrām vi mimīta u tvaḥ

ṛcām of the poems. *tvaḥ* one. *poṣom* increase. *āste* remains. *pupuṣvān* bringing more and more developments. *gāyatram* songs. *tvaḥ* one. *gāyati* sings. *śakvarīṣu* on the occasions of singing. *brahmā* the poet. *tvaḥ* one. *vadati* sings. *jātavidyām* the poem that has been produced. *yajñasya* of the worship. *mātrām* extent. *vi mimīte* measures out. *u* certainly. *tvaḥ* one.

X—72

1. devānām nu vayam jānā
    pra vocāma vipanyayā
  uktheṣu śasyamāneṣu
    yaḥ paśyād uttare yuge

devānām of the gods. *nu* now. *vayam* we. *jānā* origin. *pra vocāma* we sing. *vipanyayā* with thoughts, as a poem. *uktheṣu* the poems. *śasyamāneṣu* when they are sung. *yaḥ* who. *paśyāt* shall see, shall have a vision. *uttare* later. *yuge* in the period.

2. brahmaṇas patir etā
    saṅ karmāra ivādhamat
  devānām pūrvye yuge
    'sataḥ sad ajāyata

Brahmaṇas patiḥ Bṛhaspati. *etā* these. *sam adhamat* has blown. *karmāraḥ iva* like a smith. *devānām* of the gods. *pūrvye* former. *yuge* in the period. *asataḥ* from the non-existent. *sat* the existent. *ajāyata* there arose.

3. devānām yuge prathame
    'sataḥ sad ajāyata
  tad āśā anv ajāyanta
    tad uttānapadas pari

devānām of the gods. *yuge* in the period. *prathame* the first. *asataḥ* from the non-existent. *sat* the existent. *ajāyata* there arose. *tat* after that. *āśāḥ* the directions. *anv ajāyanta* there arose in succession. *tat* that. *uttānapadaḥ* of what has the feet upwards. *pari* around, over.

4. bhūr jajña uttānapado
   bhuva āśā ajāyanta
   aditer dakṣo ajāyata
   dakṣād v aditiḥ pari

bhūḥ the earth. *jajñe* there arose. *uttānapadaḥ* from what has the feet upwards. *bhuvaḥ* from the earth. *āśāḥ* the directions. *ajāyanta* there arose. *aditeḥ* from Aditi. *dakṣaḥ* dexterity. *ajāyata* was born. *dakṣāt* from dexterity. *u* certainly. *aditiḥ*. Aditi. *pari* around, over.

5. aditir hy ajaniṣṭa
   dakṣa yā duhitā tava
   tām devā anv ajāyanta
   bhadrā amṛtabandhavaḥ

aditiḥ Aditi. *hi* indeed. *ajaniṣṭa* was born. *dakṣa* O Daksa. *yā* who. *duhitā* daughter. *tava* your. *tām* her. *devāḥ* gods. *anv ajāyanta* were born in succession. *bhadrāḥ* holy, auspicious. *amṛtabandhavaḥ* friends of immortality.

6. yad devā adaḥ salile
   susaṁrabdhā atiṣṭhata
   atrā vo nṛtyatām iva
   tīvro reṇur apāyata

yat when. *devāḥ* O gods. *adaḥ* this. *salile* in the water. *susaṁrabdhāḥ* well prepared. *atiṣṭhata* you stood. *atra* there. *vaḥ* your. *nṛtyatām iva* like that of the dancers. *tīvraḥ* thick and fast. *reṇuḥ* dust. *apa ayata* there arose.

7. yad devā yatayo yathā
   bhuvanāny apinvata
   atrā samudra ā gūḷham
   ā sūryam ajabhartana

yat when. *devāḥ* O gods. *yatayaḥ yathā* like Yatis. *bhuvanāni* the worlds. *apinvata* you expanded. *atra* here. *samudre* in the ocean. *ā gūḻham* hidden. *sūryam* the sun. *ā ajabhartana* you brought out.

8. aṣṭau putrāso aditer
 ye jātās tanvas pari
devā̃ upa prait saptabhiḥ
 parā mārtāṇḍam āsyat

aṣṭau eight. *putrāsaḥ* sons. *aditeḥ* of Aditi. *ye* who. *jātāḥ* were born. *tanvaḥ* from the body. *pari* around. *devān* the gods. *upa pra ait* approached. *saptabhiḥ* along with seven. *parā āsyat* threw around. *mārtāṇḍam* Mārtāṇḍa.

9. saptabhiḥ putrair aditir
 upa prait pūrvyam yugam
prajāyai mṛtyave tvat
 punar mārtāṇḍam ābharat

saptabhiḥ seven. *putraiḥ* along with the sons. *aditiḥ* Aditi. *upa pra ait* approached. *pūrvyam* the prior. *yugam* the period. *prajāyai* for birth. *mṛtyave* for death. *tvat* then. *punaḥ* later. *mārtāṇḍam* Mārtāṇḍa. *ā abharat* brought forward.

I—24

III. Śunaḥśepa

1. kasya nūnaṅ katamasyāmṛtānām
 manāmahe cāru devasya nāma
ko no mahyā aditaye punar dāt
 pitarañ ca dṛśeyam mātarañ ca.

kasya whose. *nūnam* now. *katamasya* of whom. *amṛtānām* among the immortals. *manāmahe* shall we contemplate. *cāru* beautiful. *devasya* of the god. *nāma* name. *kaḥ* who. *naḥ* us. *mahyai* the great. *aditaye* to Aditi. *punaḥ* again. *dāt* shall give. *pitaram* the father. *ca* and. *dṛśeyam* we shall see. *mātaram* mother. *ca* and.

2. agner vayam prathamasyāmṛtānām
manāmahe cāru devasya nāma
sa no mahyā aditaye punar dāt
pitarañ ca dṛśeyam mātarañ ca

agneḥ of Agni (Fire). *vayam* we. *prathamasya* the first. *amṛtānām* among the immortals. *manāmahe* we shall contemplate. *cāru* beautiful. *nāma* name. *saḥ* he. *naḥ* us. *mahyai* the great. *aditaye* to Aditi. *punaḥ* again. *dāt* shall give. *pitaram* the father. *ca* and. *dṛśeyam* we shall see. *mātaram* the mother. *ca* and.

3. abhi tvā deva savitar
īśānam vāryāṇām
sadāvan bhāgam īmahe

abhi towards. *tvā* you. *deva* O god. *savitaḥ* O Sun. *īśānam* overlord. *vāryāṇām* of what are covetable. *sadā* always. *avan* O protector. *bhāgam* share. *īmahe* we beg.

4. yaś cid dhi ta itthā bhagaḥ
śaśamānaḥ purā nidaḥ
adveṣo hastayor dadhe

yaḥ which. *cit* verily. *hi* indeed. *te* your. *itthā* in this manner. *bhagaḥ* share. *śaśamānaḥ* protected. *purā* formerly. *nidaḥ* from the haters. *adveṣaḥ* free from enemies. *hastayoḥ* in both the hands. *dadhe* is held.

5. bhagabhaktasya te vayam
ud aśema tavāvasā
mūrdhānam rāya ārabhe

bhagabhaktasya what has been apportioned by the gods. *te* your. *vayam* we. *ut aśema* we long for. *tava* your. *avasā* through protection. *mūrdhānam* top. *rāyaḥ* of wealth. *ārabhe* to climb.

6. nahi te kṣatran na saho na manyum
vayaś canāmī patayanta āpuḥ
nemā āpo animiṣañ carantīr
na ye vātasya praminanty abhvam

na hi not indeed. *te* your. *kṣatram* imperial sway. *na* not. *sahaḥ* power. *na* not. *manyum* wrath. *vayaḥ* birds. *cana* verily. *amī* these. *patayantaḥ* flying. *āpuḥ* have reached. *na* not. *imā* these. *āpaḥ* water. *animiṣam* without a wink, without a stop. *carantīḥ* flowing. *na* not. *ye* who. *vātasya* of the wind. *praminanti* surpass. *abhvam* strength.

7. abudhne rājā varuṇo vanasy-
ordhvam stūpam dadate pūtadakṣaḥ
nīcīnāḥ sthur upari budhna eṣām
asme antar nihitāḥ ketavaḥ syuḥ

abudhne in the bottomless. *rājā* king. *varuṇaḥ* Varuṇa. *vanasya* of a tree. *ūrdhvam* aloft. *stūpam* orb. *dadate* placed. *pūtadakṣaḥ* with holy powers. *nīcīnāḥ* downwards. *sthuḥ* remained. *upari* above. *budhnaḥ* root. *eṣām* of these. *asme* our. *antaḥ* inside. *nihitāḥ* concealed. *ketavaḥ* clues. *syuḥ* there are.

8. urum hi rājā varuṇaś cakāra
sūryāya panthām anvetavā u
apade pādā pratidhātave 'kar
utāpavaktā hṛdayāvidhaś cit.

urum wide. *hi* indeed. *rājā* king. *varuṇaḥ* Varuna. *cakāra* made. *sūryāya* for the sake of the sun. *panthām* path. *anvetavai* to traverse along. *u* verily. *apade* where there is no step. *pādā* feet. *pratidhātave* to place. *akaḥ* made. *uta* thereafter. *apavaktā* denouncer. *hṛdayāvidhaḥ* of him who hurts the heart. *cit* verily.

9. śatan te rājan bhiṣajaḥ sahasram
urvī gabhīrā sumatiṣ ṭe astu
bādhasva dūre nirṛtim parācaiḥ
kṛtañ cid enaḥ pra mumugdhy asmat

śatam hundred. *te* your. *rājan* O king. *bhiṣajaḥ* medicines. *sahasram* thousand. *urvī* wide. *gabhīrā* deep. *sumatiḥ* good thought. *te* your. *astu* let there be. *bādhasva* drive off. *dūre* to a distance. *nirṛtim* sin. *parācaiḥ* far off. *kṛtam* done. *cit* verily. *enaḥ* sin. *pra mumugdhi* release, loosen. *asmat* from us.

10. amī ya ṛkṣā nihitāsa uccā
naktan dadṛśre kuha cid diveyuḥ
adabdhāni varuṇaṣya vratāni
vicākaśac candramā naktam eti

amī these. *ye* which. *ṛkṣāḥ* stars. *nihitāsaḥ* placed. *uccaiḥ* high. *naktam* at night. *dadṛśre* are seen. *kuha* where. *cit* verily. divā by day. *īyuḥ.* went. *adabdhāni* not violated. *varuṇasya* of Varuṇa. *vratāni* ordinances. *vicākaśat* shining. *candramāḥ* moon. *naktam* at night. *eti* comes.

11. tat tvā yāmi brahmaṇā vandamānas
tad ā śāste yajamāno havirbhiḥ
aheḷamāno varuṇeha bodhy
uruśaṁsa mā na āyuḥ pra moṣīḥ

tat that. *tvā* you. *yāmi* I pray for. *brahmaṇā* with poem. *vandamānaḥ* adoring. *tat* that. *ā śāste* looks for. *yajamānaḥ* the worshipper. *havirbhiḥ* with oblations. *aheḷamānaḥ* free from wrath. *Varuṇa* O Varuṇa. *iha* here. *bodhi* become, remain. *uruśaṁsa* O you who are widely adored. *mā* let not. *naḥ* our. *āyuḥ* life span. *pra moṣīḥ* you steal away.

12. tad in naktan tad divā mahyam āhus
tad ayam keto hṛda ā vi caṣṭe
śunaḥśepo yam ahvad gṛbhītaḥ
so asmān rājā varuṇo mumoktu

tat that. *it* verily. *naktam* at night. *tat* that. *divā* by day time. *mahyam* to me. *āhuḥ* they say. *tat* that. *ayam* this. *ketaḥ* clue. *hṛdaḥ* from the heart. *ā vi caṣṭe* shines all round. *śunaḥśepaḥ* Śunaḥśepa. *yam* whom. *ahvat* implored. *gṛbhītaḥ* caught. *saḥ* that. *asmān* us. *rājā* king. *varuṇaḥ* Varuṇaḥ. *mumoktu* let free.

13. śunaḥśepo hy ahvad gṛbhītas
triṣv ādityam drupadeṣu baddhaḥ
avainam rājā varuṇaḥ sasṛjyād
vidvān adabdho vi mumoktu pāśān

śunaḥśepaḥ Śunaḥśepa. *ahvat* implored. *gṛbhītaḥ* caught. *triṣu* three. *ādityam* son of Aditi, Varuṇa. *drupadeṣu* on the tree, on the wooden stake. *baddhaḥ* tied on. *ava sasṛjyāt* may he let loose. *enam* this. *rājā* king. *varuṇaḥ* Varuṇa. *vidvān* knowing. *adabdhaḥ* unviolated. *vi mumoktu* may take away. *pāśān* the ropes.

14. ava te heḷo varuṇa namobhir
ava yajñebhir īmahe havirbhiḥ
kṣayann asmabhyam asura pracetā
rājann enāṁsi śiśrathaḥ kṛtāni

ava īmahe I appease. *te* your. *heḷaḥ* wrath. *varuṇa* O Varuṇa. *namobhiḥ* with salutations. *ava īmahe* I appease.

yajñebhiḥ with worships. *havirbhiḥ* with oblations. *kṣayan* becoming an overlord. *asmabhyam* for us. *asura* O great god. *pracetāḥ* O one with supreme wisdom. *rājan* O king. *enāṁsi* sins. *śiśrathaḥ* let loose. *kṛtāni* what have been done.

15. ud uttamam varuṇa pāśam asmad
avādhamam vi madhyamam śrathāya
athā vayam āditya vrate tavā-
nāgaso aditaye syāma

ut śrathaya let loose upwards. *uttamam* what is above. *varuṇa* O Varuṇa. *pāśam* rope. *asmat* from us. *ava śrathaya* let loose downwards. *adhamam* what is below. *vi śrathaya* let loose sideways. *madhyamam* what is in the middle. *atha* thereafter. *vayam* we. *āditya* O son of Aditi, O Varuṇa. *vrate* within the ordinance. *tava* your. *anāgasaḥ* free from sins. *aditaye* for freedom. *syāma* may we become.

I—25

1. yac cid dhi te viśo yathā
pra deva varuṇa vratam
minīmasi dyavidyavi

yat which. *cit* verily. *hi* indeed. *te* your. *viśaḥ* people. *yathā* like. *pra minīmasi* we violate. *deva* O god. *varuṇa* O Varuṇa. *vratam* ordinance. *dyavi dyavi* day by day.

2. mā no vadhāya hatnave
jihīḷānasya rīradhaḥ
ma hṛnānasya manyave

mā let not. *naḥ* us. *vadhāya* for being hit. *hatnave* for being killed. *jihīḷānasya* of one who is wrathful. *rīradhaḥ* may you hand over. *mā* let not. *hṛnānasya* of one who is spiteful. *manyave* for the fury.

3. vi mṛlīkāya te mano
   rathīr aśvan na sanditam
gīrbhir varuṇa sīmahi

vi sīmahi we let free. *mṛlīkāya* for mercy. *te* your. *manaḥ* mind. *rathīḥ* chariot driver. *aśvam* horse. *na* like. *sanditam* that had been bound, that had been yoked. *gīrbhiḥ* with words, with adorations. *varuṇa* O Varuṇa.

4. parā hi me vimanyavo
   patanti vasya-iṣṭaye
vayo na vasatīr upa

parā patanti fly about. *hi* indeed. *me* my. *vimanyavaḥ* various kinds of thoughts. *vasya-iṣṭaye* for obtaining what is good. *vayaḥ* birds. *na* like. *vasatīḥ* abodes, nests. *upa* near.

5. kadā kṣatraśriyan naram
   ā varuṇaṅ karāmahe
mṛlīkāyorucakṣasam

kadā when. *kṣatraśriyam* possessing the splendour of imperial sway. *naram* hero. *ā karāmahe* shall we invoke. *varuṇam* Varuṇa. *mṛlīkāya* for mercy. *urucakṣasam* possessing wide-viewing eyes.

6. tad it samānam āśāte
   venantā na pra yucchataḥ
dhṛtavratāya dāśuṣe

tat that. *it* verily. *samānam* equally. *āśāte* they both long for. *venantā* being eager. *na* not. *pra yucchataḥ* they both drop down. *dhṛtavratāya* who has held on to the ordinance. *dāśuṣe* for the sake of one who makes offerings.

(The verse must be an address to Mitra and Varuṇa. They are eager to receive the offerings made by him who holds on to their ordinance. They do not drop down what is offered).

7. vedā yo vīnām padam
antarikṣeṇa patatām
veda nāvaḥ samudriyaḥ

veda knows. *yaḥ* who. *vīnām* of the birds. *padam* position. *antarikṣeṇa* through the sky. *patatām* that fly. *veda* knows. *nāvaḥ* of the ship. *samudriyaḥ* remaining in the ocean.

8. veda māso dhṛtavrato
dvādaśa prajāvataḥ
vedā ya upajāyate

veda knows. *māsaḥ* months. *dhṛtavrataḥ* who holds on to the ordinances. *dvādaśa* twelve. *prajāvataḥ* possessing progeny, what are regular. *veda* knows. *yaḥ* which. *upajāyate* arises occasionally.

(This is the additional thirteenth month added to equate the solar and the lunar months.)

9. veda vātasya vartanim
uror ṛṣvasya bṛhataḥ
vedā ye adhyāsate

veda knows. *vātasya* of the wind. *vartanim* the path. *uroḥ* wide-sweeping. *ṛṣvasya* strong. *bṛhataḥ* large. *veda* knows. *ye* who. *adhi-āsate* occupy.

10. ni ṣasāda dhṛtavrato
varuṇaḥ pastyāsv ā
sāṁrājyāya sakratuḥ

ā ni sasāda sat. *dhṛtavrataḥ* who holds on to the ordinances. *varuṇaḥ* Varuṇa. *pastyāsu* in the homes. *sāṁrājyāya* for the sake of imperial sway. *sukratuḥ* having good intellectual powers.

11. ato viśvāny adbhutā
 cikitvā abhi paśyati
kṛtāni yā ca kartvā

ataḥ from hence. *viśvāni* all. *adbhutā* wonders, secrets. *cikitvān* knowing. *abhi paśyati* looks on. *kṛtāni* what have been done. *yā* what. *ca* and. *kartvā* what will be done.

12. sa no viśvāhā sukratur
 ādityaḥ supathā karat
pra ṇa āyūṁṣi tāriṣat

saḥ he. *naḥ* us. *viśvāhā* on all the days, always. *sukratuḥ* having good intellectual powers. *ādityaḥ* son of Aditi. *supathā* along a good path. *karat* may he do, may he direct. *pra tāriṣat* may he take across. *naḥ* us. *āyūṁṣi* the entire span of life.

13. bibhrad drāpim hiraṇyayam
 varuṇo vasta nirṇijam
pari spaśo ni ṣedire

bibhrat wearing. *drāpim* garment. *hiraṇyayam* made of gold *varuṇaḥ* Varuṇa. *vasta* illuminates. *nirṇijam* form. *pari* around. *spaśaḥ* spies. *ni sedire* have sat.

14. na yam dipsanti dipsavo
 na druhāṇo janānām
na devam abhimātayaḥ

na not. *yam* whom. *dipsanti* injure. *dipsavaḥ* those who attempt to injure. *na* not. *druhāṇaḥ* those who harm. *janānām* of the people. *na* not. *devam* the god. *abhimātayaḥ* enemies.

15. uta yo mānuṣeṣv ā
yaśaś cakre asāmy ā
asmākam udareṣv ā

uta and. *yaḥ* who. *mānuṣeṣu* among men. *ā cakre* have made. *yaśah* glory. *asāmi* in full. *ā cakre* have made. *asmākam* our. *udareṣu* in the stomach. *ā cakre.* have made.

16. parā me yanti dhītayo
gāvo na gavyūtīr anu
icchantīr urucakṣasam

parā yanti wander about. *me* my. *dhītayaḥ* thoughts. *gāvaḥ* cows. *na* like. *gavyūtīr anu* towards the pasture. *icchantīr* longing for. *urucakṣasam* one with wide-viewing eyes.

18. san nu vocāvahai punar
yato me madhv ābhṛtam
hoteva kṣadase priyam

sam vocāvahai let us both talk. *nu* verily. *yataḥ* whence. *me* my. *madhu* honey. *ā-bhṛtam* was brought. *hotā iva* like the invoker. *kṣadase* you enjoy. *priyam* what is liked.

18. darśan nu viśvadarśatam
darśam ratham adhi kṣami
etā juṣata me giraḥ

darśam I have seen. *nu* verily. *viśvadarśatam* worthy of being seen by all. *darśam* I have seen. *ratham* chariot. *adhi kṣami* on the earth. *etā* these. *juṣata* may you take delight in. *me* my. *giraḥ* words, songs.

19. imam me varuṇa śrudhī
havam adyā ca mṛḷaya
tvām avasyur ā cake

imam this. *me* my. *varuṇa* O Varuṇa. *śrudhi* may you listen to. *adya* now. *ca* and. *mṛḷaya* be merciful. *tvām* you. *avasyuḥ* desiring protection. *ā cake* I approach.

20. tvam viśvasya medhira
    divaś ca gmaś ca rājasi
sa yāmani prati śrudhi

tvam you. *viśvasya* of all. *medhira* O wise one. *divaḥ* of the heaven. *ca* and. *gmaḥ* of the earth. *ca* and. *rājasi* you are the lord. *saḥ* he. *yāmani* in your journey. *prati śrudhi* listen.

21. ud uttamam mumugdhi no
    vi pāśam madhyamañ cṛta
avādhamāni jīvase

ut mumugdhi remove upwards. *uttamam* uppermost. *naḥ* from us. *vi cṛta* take away. *pāśam* rope. *madhyamam* middle one. *ava cṛta* take down. *adhamāni* what are below. *jīvase* in order to live.

IV. YAMA

X—14

1. pareyivāṁsam pravato mahīr anu
    bahubhyaḥ panthām anupaspaśānam
vaivasvatam saṅgamanañ janānām
    yamam rājānam haviṣā duvasva

pareyivāṁsam who has gone away. *pravataḥ* to the higher region. *mahīr* great. *anu* towards. *bahubhyaḥ* for the sake of many. *panthām* the path. *anupaspaśānam* who has found out. *vaivasvatam* son of Vivasvat. *saṅgamanam* who brings together. *janānām* of the people. *yamam* Yama. *rājānam* king. *haviṣā* with oblation. *duvasva* may you serve.

2. yamo no gātum prathamo viveda
naiṣā gavyūtir apabhartavā u
yatrā naḥ pūrve pitaraḥ pareyur
enā jajñānā pathyā anu svāḥ

yamaḥ Yama. *naḥ* for us. *gātum* the path. *prathamaḥ* first. *viveda* found out. *na* not. *eṣā* this. *gavyūtiḥ* pasture. *apabhartavaī* to be taken away. *u* verily. *yatra* where. *naḥ* our. *pūrve* ancient. *pitaraḥ* fore-fathers. *pareyuḥ* have gone away. *enā* these. *jajñānāḥ* who will be born. *pathyāḥ* paths. *anu* according to. *svāḥ* one's own.

3. mātalī kavyair yamo aṅgirobhir
bṛhaspatir ṛkvabhir vāvṛdhānaḥ
yāṁś ca devā vāvṛdhur ye ca devānt
svāhānye svadhayānye madanti

mātalī Mātali. *kavyaiḥ* along with Kavyas. *yamaḥ* Yama. *aṅgirobhiḥ* along with Aṅgirases. *bṛhaspatiḥ* Bṛhaspati. *ṛkvabhiḥ* along with the singers. *vavṛdhānaḥ* prospering. *yān* whom. *ca* and. *devāh* gods. *vavṛdhuḥ* enabled to prosper. *ye* who. *ca* and. *devān* the gods. *svāhā* with Svāhā. *anye* some. *svadhayā* with Svadhā. *madanti* revel.

4. imam yama prastaram ā hi sidā-
ṅgirobhiḥ pitṛbhiḥ saṁvidānaḥ
ā tvā mantrāḥ kaviśastā vahantv
enā rājan haviṣā mādayasva

imam this. *yama* O Yama. *prastaram* spread grass. *ā sīda* sit on. *hi* indeed. *aṅgirobhih* along with the Aṅgirases. *pitṛbhiḥ* fore-fathers. *saṁ vidānaḥ* having a common understanding. *ā vahantu* may bring hither. *tvā* you. *mantrāḥ* the poems. *kaviśastaḥ* sung by the poets. *enā* with this. *rājan* O King. *haviṣā* with the oblation. *mādayasva* revel.

5. aṅgirobhir ā gahi yajñiyebhir
yama vairūpair iha mādayasva
vivasvantam huve yaḥ pitā te
'smin yajñe barhiṣy ā niṣadya

aṅgirobhiḥ along with the Aṅgirases. *ā gahi* come hither. *yajñiyebhiḥ* worthy of worship. *yama* O Yama. *vairūpaiḥ* along with the Vairūpas. *iha* here. *mādayasva* revel. *vivasvantam* Vivasvat. *huve* I invoke. *yaḥ* who. *pitā* father. *te* your. *asmin* this. *yajñe* in the worship. *barhiṣi* on the grass. *ā niṣadya* having taken a seat.

6. aṅgiraso naḥ pitaro navagvā
atharvāṇo bhṛgavaḥ somyāsaḥ
teṣām vayam sumatau yajñiyānām
api bhadre saumanase syāma

aṅgirasaḥ the Aṅgirases. *naḥ* our. *pitaraḥ* fore-fathers. *navagvāḥ* Navagvas. *atharvāṇah* Atharvans. *bhṛgavaḥ* Bhṛgus. *somyāsaḥ* worthy of Soma. *teṣām* their. *vayam* we. *sumatau* in the good thought. *yajñiyānām* worthy of worship. *api* and further. *bhadre* auspicious. *saumanase* in the good thought. *syāma* may we remain.

7. prehi prehi pathibhiḥ pūrvyebhir
yatrā naḥ pūrve pitaraḥ pareyuḥ
ubhā rājānā svadhayā madantā
yamam paśyāsi varuṇañ ca devam

pra ihi pra ihi go forward go forward. *pathibhiḥ* along the paths. *pūrvyebhiḥ* ancient. *yatra* where. *naḥ* our. *pūrve* ancient. *pitaraḥ* fore-fathers. *parā-īyuḥ* have gone away. *ubhā* both. *rājānā* kings. *svadhayā* with Svadhā. *madantā* revelling. *yamam* Yama. *paśyāsi* you will see. *varuṇam* Varuṇa. *ca* and. *devam* god.

8. saṅ gacchasva pitṛbhiḥ sam yame-
neṣṭāpūrtena parame vyoman
hitvāyāvadyam punar astam ehi
saṅ gacchasva tanvā suvarcāḥ

sam gacchasva get united. *pitṛbhiḥ* with the fore-fathers. *sam gacchasva* get united. *yamena* with Yama. *iṣṭāpūrtena* with rituals and social service. *parame* the highest. *vyoman* in the heaven. *hitvāya* having abandoned. *avadyam* defect. *punaḥ* again. *astam* home. *ā ihi* come hither to. *sam gacchasva* get united. *tanvā* with a body. *suvarcāḥ* resplendent.

9. apeta vīta vi ca sarpatāto
'smā etam pitaro lokam akran
ahobhir adbhir aktubhir vyaktam
yamo dadāty avasānam asmai

apa ita go away. *vi ita* go here and there. *vi sarpata* move here and there. *ataḥ* from hence. *asmai* for this person. *etam* this. *pitaraḥ* fore-fathers. *lokam* world. *akran* have made. *ahobhiḥ* with days, with light. *adbhiḥ* with waters. *aktubhiḥ* with nights, with darkness. *vi-aktam* manifest. *yamaḥ* Yama. *dadāti* gives. *avasānam* resting place. *asmai* to this person.

10. ati drava sārameyau śvānau
caturakṣau śabalau sādhunā pathā
athā pitṝnt suvidatrā̃ upehi
yamena ye sadhamādam madanti.

ati drava run away. *sārameyau* O sons of Saramā. *śvānau* the two dogs. *caturakṣau* having four eyes. *śabalau* having varied colours. *sādhunā* right. *pathā* along the path. *atha* then. *pitṝn* the fore-fathers. *suvidatrā̃n* who know well. *upa ihi* go near. *yamena* along with Yama. *ye* who. *sadhamādam* enjoyment in the company. *madanti* revel.

11. yau te śvānau yama rakṣitārau
caturakṣau pathirakṣī nṛcakṣasau
tābhyām enam pari dehi rājant
svasti cāsmā anamīvañ ca dhehi

yau who. *te* your. *śvānau* two dogs. *yama* O Yama. *rakṣitārau* protectors. *caturakṣau* having four eyes. *pathirakṣī* who guard the path. *nṛcakṣasau* having the eyes of man. *tābhyām* to them. *enam* this person. *pari dehi* hand over. *rājan* O king. *svasti* eternal happiness. *ca* and. *asmai* to this person. *anamīvam* free from sufferings. *ca* and. *dhehi* grant.

12. urūṇasāv asutṛpā udumbalau
yamasya dūtau carato janā̃ anu
tāv asmabhyan dṛśaye sūryāya
punar dātam asum adyeha bhadram

urunasau having broad nose. *asutṛpau* content to take charge of life. *udumbalau* having variegated colours. *yamasya* of Yama. *dūtau* messengers. *carataḥ* go about. *janān anu* behind men. *tau* they. *asmabhyam* for us. *dṛśaye* for seeing. *sūryāya* the sun. *punaḥ* again. *dātam* may give. *asum* life. *adya* to day. *iha* here. *bhadram* auspicious.

13. yamāya somam sunuta
yamāya juhutā haviḥ
yamam ha yajñe gacchaty
agnir dūto araṅkṛtaḥ

yamāya for Yama. *somam* Soma. *sunuta* press. *yamāya* for Yama. *juhuta* offer. *haviḥ* oblation. *yamam* Yama. *ha* verily. *yajñaḥ* ritual of worship. *gacchati* goes. *agniḥ* Fire. *dūtaḥ* messenger. *araṅkṛtaḥ* adorned.

14. yamāya ghṛtavad dhavir
juhota pra ca tiṣṭhata

sa no deveṣv ā yamad
dīrgham āyuḥ pra jīvase

yamāya for Yama. *ghṛtavat* mixed with Ghee. *haviḥ* oblation. *juhota* offer. *pra tiṣṭhata* start on. *ca* and. *saḥ* he. *naḥ* us. *deveṣu* among the gods. *ā yamat* may unite. *dīrgham* long. *āyuḥ* life. *pra jīvase* for a good life.

15. yamāya madhumattamam
rājñe havyam juhotana
idam nama ṛṣibhyaḥ pūrvajebhyaḥ
purvebhyaḥ pathikṛdbhyaḥ

yamāya for Yama. *madhumattamam* best mixed with honey. *rājñe* for the king. *havyam* oblation. *juhotana* offer. *idam* this. *namaḥ* salutation. *ṛṣibhyaḥ* for the poets. *pūrvajebhyaḥ* born earlier. *pūrvebhyaḥ* ancient. *pathikṛdbhyaḥ* who have made the path.

16. trikadrukebhiḥ patati
ṣaḍ urvīr ekam id bṛhat
triṣṭub gāyatrī chandāṁsi
sarvā tā yama āhitā

trikadrukebhiḥ through the three vessels. *patati* falls. *ṣaṭ* six. *urvīḥ* wide. *ekam* one. *it* verily. *bṛhat* great. *triṣṭup* Triṣṭup metre. *gāyatrī* Gāyatrī metre. *chandāṁsi* the metres. *sarvā* all. *tā* those. *yame* in Yama. *āhitā* have been fixed.

X—10

Yamī

1. o cit sakhāyam sakhyā vavṛtyān
tiraḥ purū cid arṇavañ jaganvān
pitur napātam ā dadhīta vedhā
adhi kṣami prataran dīdhyānaḥ

o vavṛtyām I want to carry away. *sakhāyam* companion. *sakhyā* for companionship. *tiraḥ* in a solitary place. *puru* wide. *cit* verily. *arṇavam* ocean. *jaganvān* going. *pituḥ* of the father. *napātam* son. *ā dadhīta* may create. *vedhāḥ* Creator. *adhi kṣami* on the earth. *prataram* immensely. *dīdhyānaḥ* shining.

Yama

2. na te sakhā sakhyam vaṣṭy etat
salakṣmā yad viṣurūpā bhavāti
mahas putrāso asurasya vīrā
divo dhartārā urviyā pari khyan

na not. *te* your. *sakhā* companion. *sakhyam* companionship. *vaṣṭi* desires. *etat* this. *salakṣmā* having a common origin. *yat* because. *viṣurūpā* having a half form. *bhavāti* becomes. *mahaḥ* great. *putrāsaḥ* sons. *asurasya* of the great god. *vīrāḥ* heroes. *divaḥ* of the heaven. *dhartāraḥ* supporters. *urviyā* widely. *pari khyan* viewing around.

Yamī

3. uśanti ghā te amṛtāsa etad
ekasya cit tyajasam martyasya
ni te mano manasi dhāyy asme
janyuḥ patis tanvam ā viviśyāḥ

uśanti desire. *gha* verily. *te* these. *amṛtāsaḥ* immortals. *etat* this. *tyajasam* offspring. *martyasya* of mortal. *ni dhāyi* place. *te* your. *manaḥ* heart. *manasi* in the heart. *asme* of me. *janyuḥ* of a lady. *patiḥ* husband. *tanvam* body. *ā viviśyāḥ* enter.

Yama

4. na yat purā cakṛmā kad dha nūnam
ṛtā vadanto anṛtam rapema
gandharvo apsv āpyā ca yoṣā
sā no nābhiḥ paramañ jāmi tan nau

na not. *yat* which. *purā* formerly. *cakṛma* have done. *kat* when. *ha* verily. *nūnam* now. *ṛtā* truths. *vadantaḥ* talking. *anṛtam* untruth. *rapema* talk. *gandharvaḥ* Gandharva. *apsu* in the waters. *āpyā* abiding in the waters. *ca* and. *yoṣā* young lady. *sā* she. *naḥ* our. *nābhiḥ* naval, origin. *paramam* supreme. *jāmi* relation. *tat* that. *nau* to both of us.

Yamī

5. garbhe nu nau janitā dampatī kar
devas tvaṣṭā savitā viśvarūpaḥ
nakir asya pra minanti vratāni
veda nāv asya pṛthivī uta dyauḥ

garbhe in the womb. *nu* verily. *nau* both of us. *janitā* creator. *dampatī* lords of a home. *kaḥ* have made. *devaḥ* God. *tvaṣṭā* Tvaṣṭar (creator). *savitā* the Sun-god. *viśvarūpaḥ* of all kinds of forms. *nakiḥ* never. *asya* his. *pra minanti* they violate. *vratāni* ordinances. *veda* knows. *nau* of both of us. *asya* this. *pṛthivī* the earth. *uta* and. *dyauḥ* the heaven.

Yamī

6. ko asya veda prathamasyāhnaḥ
ka īm dadarśa ka iha pra vocat
bṛhan mitrasya varuṇasya dhāma
kad u brava āhano vīcyā nṝn

kaḥ who. *asya* this. *veda* has known. *prathamasya* the first. *ahnaḥ* of the day. *kaḥ* who. *īm* this. *dadarśa* has seen. *kaḥ* who. *iha* here. *pra vocat* will talk about. *bṛhat* large. *mitrasya* of Mitra. *varuṇasya* of Varuṇa. *dhāma* abode. *kat* when. *u* verily. *bravaḥ* you will say. *āhanaḥ* O sinner. *vīcyā* along with distribution. *nṝn* for men.

Yamī

7. yamasya mā yamyam kāma āgant
samāne yonau saha śeyyāya

jāyeva patye tanvam riricyām
vi cid vṛheva rathyeva cakrā

yamasya of Yama. *mā* to me. *yamyam* to Yamī. *kāmaḥ* desire. *ā agan* may come. *samāne* common. *yonau* in a place. *saha* together. *śeyyāya* to lie down. *jāyā iva* like the wife. *patye* for the husband. *tanvam* body. *riricyām* I will surrender. *vi vṛheva* hold together. *cit* verily. *rathyā iva* like these of a chariot. *cakrā* the two wheels.

Yama

8. na tiṣṭhanti na ni minanty ete
devānām spaśā iha ye caranti
anyena mad āhano yāhi tūyan
tena vi vṛha rathyeva cakrā.

na not. *tiṣṭhanti* stand. *na* not. *ni minanti* violate. *ete* these. *devānām* of the gods. *spaśaḥ* spies. *iha* here. *ye* who. *caranti* wander about. *anyena* with another. *mat* than me. *āhanaḥ* O sinner. *yāhi* go. *tūyam* soon. *tena* with him. *vi vṛha* hold together. *rathyā iva* like those of a chariot. *cakrā* the two wheels.

Yama

9. rātrībhir asmā ahabhir daśasyet
sūryasya cakṣur muhur un mimīyāt
divā pṛthivyā mithunā sabandhū
yamīr yamasya bibhṛyād ajāmi

rātrībhiḥ by nights. *asmai* for us. *ahabhiḥ* by days. *daśasyet* will be giving offerings. *sūryasya* of the Sun. *cakṣuḥ* the eye. *muhuḥ* again and again. *ut mimīyāt* will be open. *divā* in heaven. *pṛthivyā* on the earth. *mithunā* couple. *sabandhū* two relatives. *yamīḥ* Yamī. *Yamasya* of Yama. *vibhṛyāt* shall be taking up. *ajāmi* what is not suitable for relations.

Yama

10. ā ghā tā gacchān uttarā yugāni
yatra jāmayaḥ kṛṇavann ajāmi
upa barbṛhi vṛṣabhāya bāhum
anyam icchasva subhage patim mat

ā gacchān may come. *gha* verily. *tā* those. *uttarā* later. *yugāni* epochs. *yatra* when. *jāmayaḥ* family relations. *kṛṇavan* may do. *ajāmi* what is not suitable for relations. *upa barbṛhi* hold together. *vṛṣabhāya* for a strong one. *bāhum* arms. *anyam* another. *icchasva* desire. *subhage* O happy one. *patim* husband. *mat* than me.

Yamī

11. kim bhrātāsad yady anātham bhavāti
kim u svasā yan nirṛtir nigacchāt
kāmamūtā bahv etad rapāmi
tanvā me tanvam sam pipṛgdhi

kim what. *bhrātā* brother. *asat* is. *yat* when. *anātham* without a master. *bhavāti* becomes. *kim* what. *u* verily. *svasā* sister. *yat* when. *nirṛtiḥ* misfortune. *ni-gacchet* shall come. *kāmamūtā* overcome by love. *bahu* much. *etat* this. *rapāmi* I talk. *tanvā* with the body. *me* my. *tanvam* body. *sam pipṛgdhi* unite.

Yama

12. na vā u te tanvā tanvam sam papṛcyām
pāpam āhur yaḥ svasāram nigacchāt
anyena mat pramudaḥ kalpayasva
na te bhrātā subhage vaṣṭy etat

na not. *vai* verily. *u* verily. *te* your. *tanvā* with the body. *tanvam* body. *sam papṛcyām* I shall unite. *pāpam* sinner. *āhuḥ* they say. *yaḥ* who. *svasāram* sister. *ni-gacchet* shall approach. *anyena* with another. *mat* than myself. *pramudaḥ* joys. *kalpayasva* realise. *na* not. *te* your. *bhrātā* brother. *subhage* O happy one. *vaṣṭi* desires. *etat* this.

Yamī

13. bato batāsi yama naiva te
        mano hṛdayam cāvidāma
    anyā kila tvām kakṣyeva yuktam
        pari ṣvajāte libujeva vṛkṣam

bataḥ weak, impotent. *bata* what a pity. *asi* you are. *yama* O Yama. *na* not. *eva* at all. *te* your. *manaḥ* mind. *hṛdayam* heart. *ca* and. *avidāma* I know. *anyā* another. *kila* indeed. *tvām* you. *kakṣyā iva* like a strap. *yuktam* joined together. *pari svajāte* shall embrace. *libujā iva* like a creeper. *vṛkṣam* a tree.

Yama

14. anyam u ṣu tvam yamy anya u tvām
        pari ṣvajāte libujeva vṛkṣam
    tasya vā tvam mana icchā sa vā ta-
        vādhā kṛṇuṣva saṁvidam subhadrām

anyam another. *u* verily. *tvam* you. *yami* O Yamī. *anyaḥ* another. *u* verily. *tvam* you. *pari svajāte* shall embrace. *libujā iva* like a creeper. *vṛkṣam* a tree. *tasya* his. *vā* either. *tvam* you. *manaḥ* mind. *iccha* desire. *saḥ* he. *vā* or. *tava* your. *adha* thereafter. *kṛṇuṣva* make. *saṁvidam* a common understanding. *subhadrām* producing much auspiciousness.

X—135

1. yasmin vṛkṣe supalāśe
        devaiḥ sam pibate yamaḥ
    atrā no viśpatiḥ pitā
        purāṇā̃ anu venati

yasmin which. *vṛkṣe* in the tree. *supalāśe* having thick and green foliage (having good leaves). *devaiḥ* along with gods. *sam-pibate* drinks in the company. *yamaḥ* Yama. *atra* here. *naḥ* our. *viśpatiḥ* lord of the people or of the home. *pitā* father. *purāṇān* the ancients. *anu venati* looks for the friendship of.

2. purāṇā̃ anuvenantam
carantam pāpayāmuyā
asūyann abhy acākaśam
tasmā aspṛhayam punaḥ

purāṇān the ancients. *anu venantam* who was looking for the friendship of. *carantam* walking along. *pāpayā* along the path of sin. *amuyā* along this. *asūyan* with anger. *abhy acākaśam* I looked at. *tasmai* for him. *aspṛhayam* I longed for. *punaḥ* again, at a later stage.

3. yaṅ kumāra navam ratham
acakram manasākṛṇoḥ
ekeṣam viśvataḥ prāñcam
apaśyann adhi tiṣṭhasi

yam which. *kumāra* O prince. *navam* new. *ratham* chariot. *acakram* without a wheel. *manasā* with the mind. *akṛṇoḥ* you have constructed. *ekeṣam* with one axle. *viśvataḥ* in all directions. *prāñcam* going forward. *apaśyan* without looking. *adhi tiṣṭhasi* you ascend.

4. yaṅ kumāra pravartayo
ratham viprebhyas pari
tam sāmānu prāvartata
sam ito nāvy āhitam

yam which. *kumāra* O prince. *prāvartayaḥ* you set rolling. *ratham* chariot. *viprebhyaḥ pari* away from the poets. *tam* that.

sāma poetry. *anu prāvartata* rolled in pursuit. *sam āhitam* well placed. *itaḥ* from hence. *nāvi* in the ship.

5. kaḥ kumāram ajanayad
rathaṅ ko nir avartayat
kaḥ svit tad adya no brūyād
anuneyī yathābhavat

kaḥ who. *kumāram* the prince. *ajanayat* gave birth to. *ratham* chariot. *kaḥ* who. *nir avartayat* brought back. *kaḥ* who. *svit* really. *tat* that. *adya* now, today. *naḥ* to us. *brūyāt* can say. *anuneyī* the accompaniment. *yathā* in which way, how. *abhavat* became.

6. yathābhavad anuneyī
tato agram ajāyata
purastād budhna ātataḥ
paścān nirayanaṅ kṛtam

yathā how, in which way. *abhavat* became. *anuneyī* accompaniment. *tataḥ* for that reason. *agram* front. *ajāyata* there arose. *purastāt* in front. *budhnaḥ* back, bottom. *ātataḥ* fixed. *paścāt* in the back. *niranayanam* place for going out, front. *kṛtam* was made.

7. idam yamasya sadanan
devamānam yad ucyate
iyam asya dhamyate nāḷīr
ayaṅ gīrbhih pariṣkṛtaḥ

idam this. *yamasya* of Yama. *sadanam* abode. *devamānam* the abode of the gods. *yat* which. *ucyate* is called. *iyam* this. *asya* his. *dhamyate* is blown. *nāḷīḥ* bugle. *ayam* he. *gīrbhiḥ* with songs. *pariṣkṛtaḥ* is adorned.

X—154

1. soma ekebhyaḥ pavate
ghṛtam eka upāsate
yebhyo madhu pradhāvati
tāṁś cid evāpi gamyatām

somaḥ Soma. *ekebhyaḥ* for some. *pavate* is being pressed. *ghṛtam* ghee (cooked butter) *eke* some. *upāsate* long for. *yebhyaḥ* towards whom. *madhu* honey. *pradhāvati* rushes forth. *tān* them. *cit* verily. *eva* alone. *api.* even. *gamyatām* may go.

2. tapasā ye anādhṛṣyās
tapasā ye svar yayuḥ
tapo ye cakrire mahas
tāṁś cid evāpi gamyatām

tapasā with penance. *ye* who. *anādhṛṣyāḥ* irresistible. *tapasā* with penance. *ye* who. *svaḥ* heaven. *yayuḥ* went. *tapaḥ* penance. *ye* who. *cakrire* performed. *mahaḥ* great.

3. ye yudhyante pradhaneṣu
śūrāso ye tanutyajaḥ
ye vā sahasradakṣiṇās
tāṁś cid evāpi gamyatām.

ye who. *yudhyante* fight. *pradhaneṣu* in battles. *śūrāsaḥ* valiant heroes. *ye* who. *tanutyajaḥ* abandoning their body, who sacrifice their body. *ye* who. *vā* or. *sahasradakṣiṇāḥ* making a thousand gifts.

4. ye cit pūrva ṛtasāpa
ṛtāvāna ṛtāvṛdhaḥ
pitṝn tapasvato yama
tāṁś cid evāpi gamyatām

ye who. *cit* verily. *pūrve* ancient, early. *ṛtasāpaḥ* guardians of the law. *ṛtavānaḥ* possessors of the law. *ṛtavṛdhaḥ* promoters of the law. *pitṝn* forefathers. *tapasvataḥ* performing penance. *yama* O Yama.

5. sahasraṇīthāḥ kavayo
        ye gopāyanti sūryam
    ṛṣīn tapasvato yama
        tapojā̃ api gamyatām

sahasranīthāḥ giving a thousand leads. *kavayaḥ* poets. *ye* who. *gopāyanti* protect. *sūryam* the sun. *ṛṣīn* sages. *tapasvataḥ* who perform penance. *yama* O Yama. *tapojān* who are born of penance. *api* even. *gamyatām* may he go.

VIII. i. EVOLUTION

X—129

1. nāsad āsīn no sad āsīt tadānīm
        nāsīd rajo no vyomā paro yat
    kim āvarīvaḥ kuha kasya śarmann
        ambhaḥ kim āsīd gahanaṁ gabhīram

na not. *asat* non-being. *āsīt* there was. *no* not. *sat* being. *āsīt* there was. *tadānīm* at that time. *na* not. *āsīt* there was. *rajaḥ* space. *na* not. *vyoma* expanse. *paraḥ* supreme. *yat* which. *kim* what. *ā avarīvaḥ* covered up. *kuha* where. *kasya* whose. *śarman* in the support. *ambhaḥ* water. *kim* what. *āsīt* there was. *gahanam* deep. *gabhīram* great.

2. na mṛtyur āsīd amṛtan na tarhi
        na rātryā ahna āsīt praketaḥ
    ānīd avātam svadhayā tad ekam
        tasmād dhānyan na paraḥ kiñ canāsa

na not. *mṛtyuḥ* death. *āsīt* there was. *amṛtam* immortality. *na* not. *tarhi* then. *na* not. *rātryāḥ* of the night. *ahnaḥ* of the day. *āsīt* there was. *praketaḥ* sign. *ānīt* breathed. *avātam* without wind. *svadhayā* with its own power. *tat* that. *ekam* one. *tasmāt* from that. *ha* indeed. *anyat* different. *na* not. *paraḥ* another. *kiñ cana* something. *āsa* there was.

3. tama āsīt tamasā gūḷham agre
'praketam salilam sarvam ā idam
tucchyenābhv apihitam yad āsīt
tapasas tan mahinājāyataikam

tamaḥ darkness. *āsīt* there was. *tamasā* with darkness. *gūḷham* shrouded. *agre* in the beginning. *apraketam* without a mark. *salilam* expanse of water. *sarvam* all. *āḥ* there was. *idam* this. *tucchyena* with what is imponderable. *ābhu* all-encompassing. *apihitam* covered up. *yat* which. *āsīt* there was. *tapasaḥ* of power. *tat* that. *mahinā* by the greatness. *ajāyata* was born. *ekam* one.

4. kāmas tad agre sam avartatādhi
manaso retaḥ prathamam yad āsīt
sato bandhum asati nir avindan
hṛdi pratīṣyā kavayo manīṣā

kāmaḥ will. *tat* then. *agre* in the beginning. *sam avartata* there arose. *adhi* ever. *manasaḥ* of the mind. *retaḥ* seed. *prathamam* in the beginning. *yat* which. *āsīt* became. *sataḥ* of what is. *bandhum* companion. *asati* in what is not. *nir avindan* they secured. *hṛdi* in the heart. *pratīṣya* after searching. *kavayaḥ* poets. *manīṣā* with intuition.

5. tiraścīno vitato raśmir eṣām
adhaḥ svid āsīd upari svid āsīt
retodhā āsan mahimāna āsant
svadhā avastāt prayatiḥ parastāt

tiraścīnaḥ in various directions. *vitataḥ* spread out. *raśmiḥ* the ray. *eṣām* of these. *adhaḥ* below. *svid* either. *āsīt* it was. *upari* above. *svit* or. *āsīt* it was. *retodhāḥ* bearing the seeds. *āsan* they became. *mahimānaḥ* greatnesses. *āsan* they became. *svadhā* its own power. *avastāt* below. *prayatiḥ* activity. *parastāt* above.

6. ko addhā veda ka iha pra vocat
kuta ājātā kuta iyam visṛṣṭiḥ
arvāg devā asya visarjane-
nāthā ko veda yata ābabhūva

kaḥ who. *addhā* verily. *veda* knows. *kaḥ* who. *iha* here. *pra vocat* explains. *kutaḥ* whence. *ājātā* was born. *kutaḥ* whence. *iyam* this. *visṛṣṭiḥ* manifolding. *arvāk* later. *devāḥ* gods. *asya* of this. *visarjanena* than the manifolding. *atha* then. *kaḥ* who. *veda* knows. *yataḥ* whence. *ābabhūva* there came about.

7. iyam visṛṣṭir yata ābabhūva
yadi vā dadhe yadi va na
yo asyādhyakṣaḥ parame vyomant
so aṅga veda yadi vā na veda

iyam this. *visṛṣṭiḥ* manifolding. *yataḥ* whence. *ābabhūva* came about. *yadi* if. *vā* either. *dadhe* created. *yadi* if. *vā* or. *na* not. *yaḥ* who. *asya* of this. *adhyakṣaḥ* controller. *parame* highest. *vyoman* in the heaven. *saḥ* he. *aṅga* Sir. *veda* knows. *yadi* if. *vā* or. *na* not. *veda* knows.

ii. TRANSFORMATION

X—90

1. sahasraśīrṣā puruṣaḥ
sahasrākṣaḥ sahasrapāt
sa būmim viśvato vṛtvā
aty atiṣthad daśāṅgulam

sahasraśirṣā having a thousand heads. *puruṣaḥ* the Person. *sahasrākṣaḥ* having a thousand eyes. *sahasrapāt* having a thousand feet. *saḥ* he. *bhūmim* the earth. *viśvataḥ* on all the sides. *vṛtvā* encompassing. *ati atiṣṭhat* stood beyond. *daśāṅgulam* by ten fingers.

2. puruṣa evedam sarvam
yad bhūtam yac ca bhavyam
utāmṛtatvasyeśāno
yad annenātirohati

puruṣaḥ the Person. *eva* itself. *idam* this. *sarvam* all. *yat* what. *bhūtam* has been born. *yat* what. *ca* and. *bhavyam* is to be born. *uta* and. *amṛtatvasya* of immortality. *īśānaḥ* being the everlord. *yat* because. *annena* with the food. *atirohati* grows.

3. etāvān asya mahimā
ato jyāyāṁś ca puruṣaḥ
pādo 'sya viśvā bhūtāni
tripād asyāmṛtan divi

etāvān thus much. *asya* his. *mahimā* greatness. *ataḥ* than this. *jyāyān* greater. *ca* and. *puruṣaḥ* the Person. *pādaḥ* a quarter. *asya* his. *viśvā* all. *bhūtāni* what are born. *tripād* three quarters. *asya* his. *amṛtam* immortal. *divi* in the heaven.

4. tripād ūrdhva ud ait puruṣaḥ
pādo 'syehābhavat punaḥ
tato viṣvaṅ vy akrāmat
sāśanānaśane abhi

tripāt three quarters. *ūrdhvaḥ* erect. *ud ait* went upwards *puruṣaḥ* the Person. *pādaḥ* quarter. *asya* his. *iha* here. *abhavat* there was. *punaḥ* again and again. *tataḥ* thence. *viṣvaṅ* in all directions. *vi akrāmat* traversed. *sāśanānaśane* what have food and what have no food. *abhi* towards.

5. tasmād virāḍ ajāyata
virājo adhi pūruṣaḥ
sa jāto aty aricyata
paścād bhūmim atho puraḥ

tasmāt from that. *virāṭ* manifolded being. *ajāyata* was born. *virājaḥ* of the manifolded being. *adhi* over. *puruṣaḥ* the Person. *saḥ* he. *jātaḥ* being born. *ati aricyata* exceeded. *paścāt* behind. *bhūmim* the earth. *atho* then. *puraḥ* before.

6. yat puruṣeṇa haviṣā
devā yajñam atanvata
vasanto asyāsīd ājyam
grīṣma idhmaḥ śarad dhaviḥ

yat when. *puruṣeṇa* with the Person. *haviṣā* with the oblation. *devāḥ* the gods. *yajñam* ritual of worship. *atanvata* performed. *vasantaḥ* the spring season. *asya* for this. *āsīt* became. *ājyam* ghee. *grīṣmaḥ* the summer season. *idhmaḥ* sacred fuel. *śarat* the autumn season. *haviḥ* oblation.

7. tam yajñam barhiṣi praukṣan
puruṣam jātam agrataḥ
tena devā ayajanta
sādhyā ṛṣayaś ca ye

tam that. *yajñam* the ritual of worship. *barhiṣi* on the cut grass. *praukṣan* placed. *puruṣam* the Person. *jātam* that was born. *agrataḥ* in the beginning. *tena* with that. *devāh* the gods. *ayajanta* performed the ritual of worship. *sādhyāḥ* demi-gods. *ṛṣayaḥ* Sages, poets. *ca* and. *ye* who.

8. tasmād yajñāt sarvahutaḥ
sambhṛtam pṛṣadājyam
paśūn tāṁś cakre vāyavyān
āraṇyān grāmyāś ca ye

tasmāt that. *yajñāt* from the ritual of worship. *sarvahutaḥ* in which the whole was offered as an oblation. *sambhṛtam* was collected. *pṛṣadājyam* new butter (wet butter). *paśūn* the beasts. *tān* those. *cakre* created. *vāyavyān* what are in the air. *āraṇyān* what are in the jungles. *grāmyāḥ* what are in the villages (what are domesticated). *ca* and. *ye* which.

9. tasmād yajñāt sarvahuta
ṛcaḥ sāmāni jajñire
chandāṁsi jajñire tasmād
yajus tasmād ajāyata

tasmāt that. *yajñāt* from the ritual of worship. *sarvahutaḥ* in which the whole was offered as an oblation. *ṛcaḥ* the poems of the Ṛgveda. *sāmāni* the songs of the Sāmeveda. *jajñire* were born. *chandāṁsi* the metres. *jajñire* were born. *tasmāt* from that. *yajuḥ* the Yajurveda. *tasmāt* from that. *ajāyata* was born.

10. tasmād aśvā ajāyanta
ye ke cobhayādataḥ
gāvo ha jajñire tasmāt
tasmāj jātā ajāvayaḥ

tasmāt from that. *aśvāḥ* horses. *ajāyanta* were born. *yeke* whichever. *ca* and. *ubhayādatah* having two rows of teeth. *gāvaḥ* cows. *ha* verily. *jajñire.* were born. *tasmāt* from that. *tasmāt* from that. *jātāh* were born. *ajāvayaḥ* goats and sheep.

11. yat puruṣam vy adadhuḥ
katidhā vy akalpayan
mukhaṅ kim asya kau bāhū
kā ūrū pādā ucyete

yat when. *puruṣam* the Person. *vi adadhuḥ* they split up. *katidhā* in how many parts. *vi akalpayan* they split up. *mukham* face. *kim* what. *asya* his. *kau* what. *bāhū* the two arms. *kau* what. *ūrū* the two thighs. *pādau* the two feet. *ucyete* are called.

12. brāhmaṇo 'sya mukham āsīd
bāhū rājanyaḥ kṛtaḥ
ūrū tad asya yad vaiśyaḥ
padbhyām śūdro ajāyata

brāhmaṇaḥ the wise people. *asya* his. *mukham* face. *āsīt* became. *bāhū* the two arms. *rājanyaḥ* the warrior class. *kṛtaḥ* was made. *ūrū* the two thighs. *tad* that. *asya* his. *yat* which. *vaiśyaḥ* the wealthy class. *padbhyām* from the two feet. *śūdraḥ* the labouring class. *ajāyata* was born.

13. candramā manaso jātaś
cakṣoḥ sūryo ajāyata
mukhād indraś cāgniś ca
prāṇād vāyur ajāyata

candramāḥ the moon. *manasaḥ* from the mind. *jātaḥ* was born. *cakṣoḥ* from the eye. *sūryaḥ* the Sun. *ajāyata* was born. *mukhāt* from the face. *indraḥ* Indra. *ca* and. *agniḥ* Fire. *ca* and. *prāṇāt* from the life-breath. *vāyuḥ* the air. *ajāyata* was born.

14. nābhyā āsīd antarikṣam
śīrṣṇo dyauḥ samavartata
padbhyām bhūmir diśaḥ śrotrāt
tathā lokā̃ akalpayan

nābhyāḥ from the navel. *āsīd* there arose. *antarikṣam* the atmospheric region. *śīrṣṇaḥ* from the head. *dyauḥ* the celestial region. *samavartata* there appeared. *padbhyām* from the two feet. *bhūmiḥ* the earth. *diśaḥ* the cardinal directions of space. *śrotrāt* from the ear. *tathā* similarly. *lokān* the worlds. *akalpayan* they produced.

15. saptāsyāsan paridhayas
triḥ sapta samidhaḥ kṛtaḥ
devā yad yajñam tanvānā
abadhnan puruṣam paśum

sapta seven. *asya* its. *āsan* there were. *paridhayaḥ* borders. *triḥ* three. *sapta* seven. *samidhaḥ* fuels. *kṛtaḥ* were made. *devāḥ* gods. *yat* when. *yajñam* the ritual of worship. *tanvānāḥ* performing. *abadhnan* tied down. *puruṣam* the Person. *paśum* the animal (for sacrifice).

16. yajñena yajñam ayajanta devās
tāni dharmāṇi prathamāny āsan
te ha nākam mahimānaḥ sacanta
yatra pūrve sādhyāḥ santi devāḥ

yajñena with the ritual of worship. *yajñam* the ritual of worship. *ayajanta* performed a ritual of worship. *devāḥ* gods. *tāni* they. *dharmāṇi* the Laws. *prathamāni* the primal. *āsan* became. *te* these. *ha* Lo. *nākam* heaven. *mahimānaḥ* greatnesses, great gods. *sacanta* resorted to. *yatra* where. *pūrve* ancient. *sādhyāḥ* demi-gods. *santi* there are. *devāḥ* gods.

iii. A. HIRAṆYAGARBHA

X—121

1. hiraṇyagarbhaḥ samavartatāgre
bhūtasya jātaḥ patir eka āsīt
sa dādhāra pṛthivīm dyām utemām
kasmai devāya haviṣā vidhema

hiraṇyagarbhaḥ Golden Womb. *sam avartata.* there arose. *agre* in the beginning. *bhūtasya* of what is produced. *jātaḥ* being born. *patiḥ* lord. *ekaḥ* one, sole. *āsīt* became. *saḥ* he.

dādhāra supported. *pṛthivīm* the earth. *dyām* heaven. *uta* and. *imām* this. *kasmai* which. *devāya* for the god. *haviṣā* with the oblation. *vidhema* we shall make an offering.

2. ya ātmadā baladā yasya viśvā
upāsate praśiṣam yasya devāḥ
yasya chāyāmṛtam yasya mṛtyuḥ
kasmai devāya haviṣā vidhema

yaḥ who. *ātmadāḥ* giver of Self. *baladāḥ* giver of vitality. *yasya* whose. *viśve* whole. *upāsate* honour. *praśiṣam* orders. *yasya* whose. *devāḥ* gods. *yasya* whose. *chāyā* shadow. *amṛtam* immortal. *yasya* whose. *mṛtyuḥ* death.

3. yaḥ prāṇato nimiṣato mahi-
tvaika id rājā jagato babhūva
ya īśe asya dvipadaś catuṣpadaḥ
kasmai devāya haviṣā vidhema

yaḥ who. *prāṇataḥ* of him who breathes. *nimiṣataḥ* of him who keeps the eye closed. *mahitvā* through greatness. *ekaḥ* one. *it* verily. *rājā* king. *jagataḥ* of the world. *babhūva* became. *yaḥ* who. *iśe* is the lord. *dvipadaḥ* of what has two legs. *catuṣpadaḥ* of what has four feet.

4. yasyeme himavanto mahitvā
yasya samudram rasayā sahāhuḥ
yasyemāḥ pradiśo yasya bāhū
kasmai devāya haviṣā vidhema

yasya whose. *ime* these. *himavantaḥ* having snow. *mahitvā* through greatness. *yasya* whose. *samudram* ocean. *rasayā* with river. *saha* along with. *āhuḥ* they say. *yasya* whose. *imāḥ* these. *pradiśaḥ* directions in space. *yasya* whose. *bāhū* in the arm.

5. yena dyaur ugrā pṛthivī ca dṛḷhā
 yena svaḥ stabhitam yena nākaḥ
yo antarikṣe rajaso vimānaḥ
 kasmai devāya haviṣā vidhema

yena by whom. *dyauḥ* the heaven. *ugrā* majestic. *pṛthivī* earth. *ca* and. *dṛḷhā* firm. *yena* by whom. *svaḥ* the celestial region. *stabhitam* was fixed. *yena* by whom. *nākaḥ* the vault of heaven. *yaḥ* who. *antarikṣe* in the atmospheric region. *rajasaḥ* of the expanse. *vimānaḥ* one who measures.

6. yaṅ krandasī avasā tastabhāne
 abhyaikṣetām manasā rājamāne
yatrādhi sūra udito vibhāti
 kasmai devāya haviṣā vidhema

yam whom. *krandasī* heaven and earth. *avasā* with protection. *tastabhāne* having been fixed. *abhyaikṣetām* look on. *manasā* with the mind. *rājamāne* being brightened up. *yatra* where. *adhi* over. *sūraḥ* the Sun. *uditaḥ* having risen up. *vibhāti* shines.

7. āpo ha yad bṛhatīr viśvam āyan
 garbhan dadhānā janayantīr agnim
tato devānām samavartatāsur ekaḥ
 kasmai devāya haviṣā vidhema

āpaḥ the waters. *ha* Lo. *yad* when. *bṛhatīḥ* great. *viśvam* entire. *āyan* went. *garbham* womb. *dadhānāḥ* bearing. *janayantīḥ* producing. *agnim* Fire. *tataḥ* thereafter. *devānām* of the gods. *samavartata* there came up. *asuḥ* life. *ekaḥ* one.

8. yaś cid āpo mahinā paryapaśyad
 dakṣan dadhānā janayantīr yajñam
yo deveṣu deva eka āsīt
 kasmai devāya haviṣā vidhema

yaḥ who. *cid* verily. *āpaḥ* the waters. *mahinā* through greatness. *pari-apaśyat* viewed. *dakṣam* dexterity. *dadhānāḥ* bearing. *janayantīḥ* producing. *yajñam* ritual of worship. *yaḥ* who. *deveṣu* among the gods. *devaḥ* god. *ekaḥ* one, sole. *āsīt* became.

9. mā no hiṁsīj janitā yaḥ pṛthivyā
  yo vā divam satyadharmā jajāna
yaś cāpaś candrā bṛhatīr jajāna
  kasmai devāya haviṣā vidhema

mā not. *naḥ* us. *hiṁsīt* does harm. *janitā* creator. *yaḥ* who. *pṛthivyāḥ* of the earth. *yaḥ* who. *vā* or. *divam* heaven. *satyadharmā* having the true Law. *jajāna* created. *yaḥ* who. *ca* and. *āpaḥ* waters. *candrāḥ* charming. *bṛhatīḥ* great. *jajāna* created.

10. prajāpate na tvad etāny anyo
  viśvā jātāni pari tā babhūva
yatkāmās te juhumas tan no astu
  vayam syāma patayo rayīṇām

prajāpate O Prājāpati. *na* not. *tvad* than you. *anyaḥ* another. *etāni* those. *viśvā* all. *jātāni* what are created. *pari babhūva* encompassed. *tāḥ* these. *yatkāmāḥ* desiring which. *te* to you. *juhumaḥ* we make offerings. *tat* that. *naḥ* to us. *astu* let there be. *vayam* we. *syāma* may become. *patayaḥ* lords. *rayīṇām* of riches.

B. VIŚVAKARMAN

X—81

1. ya imā viśvā bhuvanāni juhvad
  ṛṣir hotā ny asīdat pitā naḥ
sa āśiṣā draviṇam icchamānaḥ
  prathamacchad avarā̃ ā viveśa

yaḥ who. *imā* these. *viśvā* all. *bhuvanāni* created worlds. *juhvat* offered as an oblation. *ṛṣiḥ* Sage, poet. *hotā* invoker. *ni asīdat* has remained. *pitā* father. *naḥ* our. *saḥ* he. *āśiṣā* through poem of blessing. *draviṇam* riches. *icchamānaḥ* desiring. *prathamacchat* covering first. *avarān* those who came later. *ā viveśa* entered.

2. kim svid āsīd adhiṣṭhānam
   ārambhaṇam katamat svit kathāsīt
   yato bhūmiñ janayan viśvakarmā
   vi dyām aurṇon mahinā viśvacakṣāḥ

kim what. *svit* or. *āsīt* became. *adhiṣṭhānam* seat. *ārambhaṇam* start. *katamat* which. *svit* or. *kathā* how. *āsīt* was. *yataḥ* whereby. *bhūmim* the earth. *janayan* creating. *viśvakarmā* Viśvakarman. *vi aurṇot* encompassed. *mahinā* with greatness. *viśvacakṣāḥ* having eyes in all directions, being able to view everything.

3. viśvataścakṣur uta viśvatomukho
   viśvatobāhur uta viśvataspāt
   sam bāhubhyān dhamati sam patatrair
   dyāvābhūmī janayan deva ekaḥ

viśvataścakṣuḥ having eyes in all directions. *uta* and. *viśvatomukhaḥ* having the face turned in all directions. *viśvatobāhuḥ* having the hands extended in all directions. *uta* and. *viśvataspāt* having the feet stretched in all directions. *sam dhamati* blows. *bāhubhyām* with the two hands. *sam dhamati* blows. *patatraiḥ* with his wings. *dyāvābhūmī* heaven and earth. *janayan* creating. *devaḥ* god. *ekaḥ* one, sole.

4. kim svid vanaṅ kā u sa vṛkṣa āsa
   yato dyāvāpṛthivī niṣṭatakṣuḥ
   manīṣiṇo manasā pṛcchated u tad
   yad adhyatiṣṭhad bhuvanāni dhārayan

kim what. *svit* or. *vanam* forest. *kaḥ* which. *u* verily. *saḥ* that. *vṛkṣaḥ* timber. *āsa* was. *yataḥ* whereby. *dyāvāpṛthivī* heaven and earth. *niṣtatakṣuḥ* constructed. *manīṣiṇaḥ* wise people. *manasā* with the mind. *pṛcchata* may ask. *it* certainly. *u* verily. *tat* that. *yat* which. *adhyatiṣṭhat* occupied. *bhuvanāni* the created worlds. *dhārayan* supporting.

5. yā te dhāmāni paramāṇi yāvamā
    yā madhyamā viśvakarmann utemā
 śikṣā sakhibhyo haviṣi svadhāvaḥ
    svayam yajasva tanvan dadhānaḥ

yā which. *te* your. *dhāmāni* abodes. *paramāṇi* highest. *yā* which. *avamā* lowest. *yā* which. *madhyamā* middle. *viśvakarman* O Viśvakarman. *uta* and. *imā* these. *śikṣa* instruct. *sakhibhyaḥ* to the companions. *haviṣi* when there was the oblation offered. *svadhāvaḥ* O possessor of your own powers. *svayam* yourself. *yajasva* perform the ritual of worship. *tanvam* body. *dadhānaḥ* bearing.

6. viśvakarman haviṣā vāvṛdhānaḥ
    svayam yajasva pṛthivīm uta dyām
 muhyantv anye abhito janāsa
    ihāsmākam maghavā sūrir astu

viśvakarman O Viśvakarman. *haviṣā* with the oblation. *vavṛdhānaḥ* expanding, prospering. *svayam* yourself. *yajasva* perform a ritual of worship. *pṛthivīm* the earth. *uta* and. *dyām* heaven. *muhyantu* may be perplexed. *anye* others. *abhitaḥ* around. *janāsaḥ* people. *iha* here. *asmākam* for us. *maghavā* Indra. *sūriḥ* wise person. *astu* let remain.

7. vācas patim viśvakarmāṇam ūtaye
    manojuvam vāje adyā huvema
 sa no viśvāni havanāni joṣad
    viśvaśambhūr avase sādhukarmā

vācas patim the lord of language, lord of songs. *viśvakarmāṇam* Viśvakarman. *ūtaye* for protection. *manojuvam* having the speed of the mind. *vāje* in the ritual. *adya* now. *saḥ* he. *naḥ* our *viśvāni* all. *havanāni* invocations. *joṣat* may take delight in. *viśvaśambhūḥ* producer of all happiness. *avase* for protection. *sādhukarmā* doer of what is right.

X—82

1. cakṣuṣaḥ pitā manasā hi dhīro
ghṛtam ene ajanan namnamāne
yaded antā adadṛhanta pūrva
ād id dyāvāpṛthivī aprathetām

cakṣuṣaḥ of the eye. *pitā* father. *manasā* in the mind. *hi* indeed. *dhīraḥ* firm and intelligent. *ghṛtam* water. *ene* these two. *ajanan* created. *namnamāne* which were sinking. *yadā* when. *it* truly. *antaḥ* the ends. *adadṛhanta* fixed. *pūrvaḥ* earlier. *āt* thereafter. *it* truly. *dyāvāpṛthivī* heaven and earth *aprathetām* got spread out.

2. viśvakarmā vimanā ād vihāyā
dhātā vidhātā paramota sandṛk
teṣām iṣṭāni sam iṣā madanti
yatra sapta-ṛṣīn para ekam āhuḥ

viśvakarmā Viśvakarman. *vimanā* with mind spreading in all directions. *āt* thereafter. *vihāyā* moving in all directions. *dhātā* creator. *vidhātā* controller. *paramā* supreme. *uta* and. *sandṛk* seeing rightly. *teṣām* their. *iṣṭāni* what is sought after. *sam madanti* revel together. *iṣā* with the oblation. *yatra* where. *sapta-ṛṣīn* the seven Sages, seven poets. *paraḥ* superior. *ekam* one. *āhuḥ* they speak.

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3. yo naḥ pitā janitā yo vidhātā
dhāmāni veda bhuvanāni viśvā
yo devānān nāmadhā eka eva
tam sampraśnam bhuvanā yanti anyā

yaḥ who. *naḥ* our. *pitā* father. *janitā* creator. *yaḥ* who. *vidhātā* controller. *dhāmāni* abodes. *veda* knows. *bhuvanāni* worlds. *viśvā* all. *yaḥ* who. *devānām* of the gods. *nāmadhā* by the name. *ekaḥ* one. *eva* certainly. *tam* him. *sampraśnam* with the question. *bhuvanā* the worlds. *yanti* go. *anyā* other.

4. ta āyajanta draviṇam sam asmā
ṛṣayaḥ pūrve jaritāro na bhūnā
asūrte sūrte rajasi niṣatte
ye bhūtāni samakṛṇvan imāni

te they. *sam ā ayajanta* performed the ritual of worship. *draviṇam* riches. *asmai* for him. *ṛṣayaḥ* sages, poets. *jaritāraḥ* adorers, singers. *na* like. *bhūnā* in plenty. *asūrte* dark. *sūrte* bright. *rajasi* space. *niṣatte* when it remained. *ye* who. *bhūtāni* the worlds. *samakṛṇvan* made sacred. *imāni* these.

5. paro divā para enā pṛthivyā
paro devebhir asurair yad asti
kam svid garbham prathaman dadhra āpo
yatra devāḥ samapaśyanta viśve

paraḥ prior. *divā* to the heaven. *paraḥ* prior. *enā* these. *pṛthivyāḥ* to the earth. *paraḥ* prior. *devebhyah* to the gods. *asuraiḥ* to the demons. *yat* which. *asti* is. *kam* which. *svid* or. *garbham* womb. *prathamam* first. *dadhre* bore. *āpaḥ* the waters. *yatra* where. *devāh* the gods. *samapaśyanta* had a view. *viśve* all.

6. tam id garbham dadhra āpo
yatra devāḥ samagacchanta viśve

ajasya nābhāv adhy ekam arpitam
yasmin viśvāni bhuvanāni tasthuḥ

tam that. *it* verily. *garbham* womb. *dadhre* bore. *āpaḥ* the waters. *yatra* where. *devāḥ* the gods. *samagacchanta* went together. *sarve* all. *ajasya* of the unborn. *nābhau* in the navel. *adhi* ever. *ekam* one. *arpitam* was placed. *yasmin* in which. *viśvāni* all. *bhuvanāni* the worlds. *tasthuḥ* remained.

7. na tam vidātha ya imā jajā-
nānyad yuṣmākam antaram babhūva
nīhāreṇa prāvṛtā jalpyā
cāsutṛpa ukthaśāsaś caranti

na not. *tam*. that. *vidātha* know. *yaḥ* who. *imā* these. *jajāna* created. *anyat* another. *yuṣmākam* your. *antaram* difference. *babhūva* there arose. *nīhāreṇa* with mist. *prāvṛtāḥ* covered up. *jalpyā* deserving to be talked about. *ca* and. *asutṛpaḥ* content with the life. *ukthaśāsaḥ* those who teach through the songs. *caranti* wander about.

NOTES

[The figures refer to the paragraphs. The references are to the Ṛgveda unless otherwise specified.]

CHAPTER I

1. I-140 to 164.

2. The poems are: Agni 140 and 141. Āprī 142. Agni 143 to 150. Mātariśvan 151 to 153. Viṣṇu 154 to 156. Aśvins 157 and 158. Dyāvāpṛthivī 159 and 160. Ṛbhus 161. Aśva 162 and 163. Then the philosophical hymn follows as 164.

4. See verse 21 where the father entered him; see also the previous verse. Yama: X-135-1. Śunaḥśepa: I-24-1, 2. Seven poets; see Bṛhaspati X-71-3. See also the Seven poets in Ch. VII-vii.

8. Seven poets: See Ch. VII-vii. Also Bṛhaspati X-71-3. Vasiṣṭha: uvāca me varuṇo medhirāya triḥ sapta nāmāghnyā bibharti VII-87-4. Aghnyā: see verses 27 and 40. Bṛhaspati: X-71-1.

10. Bṛhaspati: X-71-9. The word Pāka to mean " immature " is difficult.

11. The six regions may be the four cardinal points, above and below.

12. Bṛhaspati X-71-4.

14. In the Upaniṣad, there is the approach to the teacher and sitting near him (upa means " near " and niṣad means " sitting down "). There is the Upanayana where the father takes the disciple to the teacher. After his study, the disciple approaches the teacher by himself for studying the higher problems.

16. Śunaḥśepa: I-24- 1, 2.

17. Vālmīki: See Rāmāyaṇa I-ii-16 to 18. Bṛhaspati: X-71-10.

20. Kālidāsa: vāgarthāv iva sampṛktau . . . jagataḥ pitarau vande. Raghuvaṁśa I-1.

22. Three divisions of language and meaning: see verse 45.

26. pañcayāma and trivṛt and saptatantu: X-52-4. ṣoḷhā yuktāḥ pañcapañcā vahanti III-55-18. pañcaraśmi II-40-3. pañcahotar V-42-1.

27. Five directions: pañca pradiśaḥ IX-86-29. five invokers: V-42-1. Five steps of a ladder: X-13-3.

29. Eye of Mitra I-115-1. Sun views the world. I-35-2.

30. Bṛhaspati X-72-8, 9.

31. Gītā: striyo vaiśyās tathā śūdrāḥ IX-32.

38. Two birds: Atharvaveda IX-ix-20. Muṇḍakopaniṣad III-i-1. Tree. Yama: X-135-1. Śunaḥśepa: I-24-7. Kaṭhopaniṣad: VI-1-Gītā XV-1.

42. Three kinds of metres. Nidāna sūtra. Also Mādhava son of Veṅkaṭārya, Introductory verses to Ṛgveda commentary VI-1-5, 6. This is taken from the Nidānasūtra. The entire scheme of metres in the Ṛgveda is being worked up by me.

46. Kālidāsa. hemnaḥ saṁlakṣyate hy agnau. Raghuvaṁśa I-10.

59. Incest. See I-71-5.

62. Poem on Person: X-90-7.

63. Vālmīki. See Note on Para 17. Concealed position: See verse 45.

66. Two birds. See verse 20. Rituals of worship. See verse 50 and Poem on Person: X-90-16.

73. This is the beginning of the Dhvani Theory.

76. Four gods mentioned together. I-106-1. Yama and Mātariśvan. X-51-3. Here it is Agni (Fire). But there are places where Mātariśvan is spoken of as having found out the Fire.

78. Ghṛta. Nighaṇṭu I-12.

79. Three hundred and sixty pairs: See verse 11.

81. Closing verse of the poem on the Person: X-90-16.

82. Exchange between gods and men: Kālidāsa, dudoha gām sa yajñāya sasyāya maghavā divam. Raghuvaṁśa I-26. Gītā, III-10, 11. See also Yama, X-14-3.

85. Starts with father of seven sons and ends with the father who renders protection, though the term father is not mentioned. See the explanation of the verse in the eighty-third paragraph.

86. The passages are in verses 42 and 51.

87. See Dīrghatamā māmateyaḥ I-158-6. The term Māmateya occurs also in I-147-3 and 152-6. Aucathya: I-158-1 and 4. Śaśakarṇa: X-9-10. Kakṣīvān: I-116 to 126; IX-74. Protection from Aśvins: Kakṣīvān, I-116-7; IX-74-8. Savya, I-51-13, Medhātithi, I. 18. 1. Vāmadeva, IV-26. 1.

SUPPLEMENTARY

The poem of Dīrghtamas is difficult to understand since it is full of very profound thoughts and mysticism expressed in symbolic language.

In order to assist further study and easy reference, I am adding two lists, relating to the various numbers and also the noteworthy words. The words in the first list are not repeated in the second list.

I. (*a*) A. NUMBERS WITH THE FACTS TO WHICH THEY ARE RELATED

eka	cakra (ratha) 2, 48; aśva 2; kim api 6; bibhrat 10; ekaja 15; pada 41; eṣām abhicaste rūpam 44; sat 46.
dvi	suparṇa 20; pada 24, 41.
tri	nābhi 2, 48; yojana 9; mātar, pitar 10; samidh 25; keśin 44; guhā nihita 45.
catuḥ	pada 24, 41; pradiśaḥ 42; vāk, manuṣyā vadanti 45.
pañca	pada 12; ara (cakra) 13.
ṣaṭ	rajas 6; ara 12; yama 15.
sapta	putra 1; yuñjanti 2; nāma 2, 3; tasthuḥ 3; cakra (ratha) 3, 12; aśva 3; svasar 3; tantu 5; sākañjāna 15; vāṇī 24; ardhagarbhā 36.
aṣṭa	pada 41.
nava	pada 41.
dvādaśa	ara(cakra) 11; ākṛti 12; prathayaḥ 48.
triśatā ca ṣaṣṭi	arpitā 48.
sapta śatāni viṁśatis ca	putra 11.
sahasra	akṣara 41.

(*b*) FACTS WITH THE NUMBERS RELATING TO THEM

ara, ṣaṭ 12; dvādaśa 11; pañca 13; ardhagarbha, sapta 36; aśva, eka 2, sapta 3.

ākṛti, dvādaśa 12.

kim api, eka 6; keśin, tri 44.

cakra, eka 2, 48; tri (triṇābhi) 2; pañca (pañcāra) 13; sapta 3, 12; caṣṭe, eka 44.

tantu, sapta 5; tasthuḥ, sapta 3.

dadṛśe, ekasya 44.

nābhi, tri 2; nābhya, tri 48; nāma, sapta 2, 3.

pada, eka 41; dvi 24, 41; tri 45; catur 24, 41, 45; (turīya) 45; pañca 12; aṣṭa 41; nava 41; pitar, tri 10; putra, sapt 1; saptaśatāni viṁśatiś ca 11; prathayaḥ, catur 42; pradiśaḥ, catur 42.

mātar, tri 10.

yama, ṣaṭ 15; yukta, daśa 14; yuñjanti, sapta 2; yojanā, tri 9.
rajas, ṣaṭ 6; ratha, ekacakra 2; ṣaḷara 12; saptacakra 3, 12.
vapate, eka 44; vāṇī, sapta 24.
śaṅku, triśatā ca ṣaṣṭiḥ 48.
sat, eka 46; samit, tri 25; sākañjāna, ekaja 15; saptatha 15; suparṇa. dvi 20; svasar, sapta 3.

II. List of Noteworthy words

akṛṇot 28; akṣaḥ 13; akṣaṇvān 42; akṣare 39; akṣareṇa 24; agan ā 37; agāt abhi 27; agāt parā 17; agnayaḥ 51; agnim 46; agne 11; agre 8, 22; aghnyā 27; aghnye 40; acikitvān 6; ajaram 2, 14; ajasya 6; atiṣṭhat 9; atti 20; addhi 40; adhāt ā 33; anat 30; anarvam 2; anaśnan 20; anaśthā 4; anipadyamānam 31; animiṣam 21; anuveda 18; antam 34; antaḥ 35; andhaḥ 16; apaḥ 47; apacanta 43; apaśyam 1, 31, 43; apaśyat anu 9; apaśyat pari 25; apām 52; apāṅ 38; apuḥ 7; abhisvaranti 21; abhīddhaḥ 26; abhīpataḥ 52; abhīvṛtā 29; amartyaḥ 30, 38; amīmet 9, 28; amṛtatvam 21; ayajanta 50; arkam 24; arkeṇa 24; ardham 17; ardhe 12; arpitam 12; arpitā 14; arpitāḥ 48; arvācaḥ 19; arvāñcaḥ 19; avaḥ 17, 18; avareṇa 17, 18, 43; avase 52; avijānan 5; aviśvaminvam 10; astabhāyat 25; asthāt 17; aśnaḥ 1; aśnave 37; aśvaḥ 2; aśvasya 34, 35; aśvāḥ 3; aśvibhyām 27; asuḥ 4; asṛk 4; asthanvantam 4; ahabhiḥ 51.

ācarantī 40; ātmā 4; ānaśuḥ 23; anṛtam 14; āsate sam 39; āhitam 23; āhuḥ 46.

icchantī 27; iṅgayanti na 45; inaḥ 21; indram 46; indraḥ 19; iṣṭāni 15.

īyuḥ 8.

ukṣāṇam 43; uttānayoḥ 33; uttānāyām 14; udakam 7, 40, 51; udyate vi 47; upare 12; upavākam 8.

ūrdhvaḥ 10.

ṛcaḥ 39; ṛcā 39; ṛtasya 11, 37, 47; ṛtudhā 44; ṛte 8; ṛṣayaḥ 15.

ejat 30; eti 14, 38; eti ut ca ava ca 51.

otavai 5; oṣadhīnām 52.

auhata prati 29.

kadrīcī 17; kariṣyati 39; kavayaḥ 5; kaviḥ 16; kavīn 6; kavīyamānaḥ 18; kṛṣṇam 47; kṣarati 42; kṣaranti adhi vi 42; kṣīram 7.

garbham 33, 52; garbhaḥ 9: garbharasā 8; garutmān 46; gavām 3; gām 3, 9; gāt upa 4; gāyatram 23; gāyatrasya 25; gāyatre 23; gāyatreṇa 24; gāvaḥ 7; guhā 45; gṛbhītaḥ 38; godhuk 26; gopām 31; gopāḥ 21; gauḥ 17, 28, 29; gaurīḥ 41; glāpayanti 10.

gharman 28; gharmaḥ 26; ghṛtapṛṣṭhaḥ 1; ghṛtena 47.

caṁvoḥ 33; cakāra 29; cakāra ni 32; cakram 2, 11, 14; cakṣuḥ 14; carati 30; carantam ā ca parā ca 31; carāmi 37; calācalāsaḥ 48; caṣṭe abhi 44; caṣṭe vi 44; cākaśīti abhi 20; cikituṣaḥ 6; ciketa 48; ciketa ā 16; cikyuḥ ni 38; cittibhiḥ 29; cetat vi na 16.

jagat 23; jagatā 25; jagati 23; jagme sam 8; jarāya na 11; janitā 33; jānāmi vi na 37; jāyamānam 4; jinvanti 51; jīvam 30; jīvaḥ 30; jīvati upa 42; jīvanti 42; johavīmi.

takṣatī 42; tatnire vi 5; tastambha 6; tasthuḥ 2; tasthuḥ adhi 3; tasthuḥ ā 11, 13; tapyate na 13; tarpayantam 52; tasthau 10; tiṣṭhanti 30; tṛṇam 40; tṛtīyaḥ 1; traiṣṭubham 23; traiṣṭubhāt 23; traiṣṭubhena 24.

dakṣiṇāyāḥ 9; dadarśa 4, 32; dadṛśre na 44; darśatam 52; divam 47, 51; divaḥ 10, 12; divi 25; divyam 52; divyaḥ 46; duhate 7; duhām 27; duhituḥ 33; devam 18; devajāḥ 15; devāḥ 39, 50; devānām 5; dohat 26; dyām pari 11; dyauḥ 33.

dharmāṇi 43, 50; dhāmaśaḥ 15; dhītibhiḥ 36; dhītī 8; dhīraḥ 21; dhurā 19; dhuri 9; dhūmam 42; dhenum 26; dhrājiḥ 44; dhruvam 30; dhvasanau 29.

namasvantaḥ 8; naśat 22; nākam 50; nābhiḥ 33, 34, 35; niṇyam 37; niyānam 47; niratakṣata 23; nirṛtim 32; nividdhā 8; niviśante 22; niṣeduḥ adhi 39; nihitam 7; nihitā 5.

patanti ut 47; pathibhiḥ 31; padam 7, 23; padā 17; padāni 5; payaḥ 27; payate 28; payobhiḥ 28; param 34; paraḥ 17, 18, 35, 43; paramam 34, 35; parame 39, 41; parācaḥ 19; parāñcaḥ 19; paribhuvaḥ 36; parimitā 45; parivartamāne 13; parivītaḥ 32; pare 12, 16; pareṇa 17, 18; palitasya 1; pastyānām 30; pākam 21; pākaḥ 5; pitaram 8, 12, 18, 22; pitā 16, 33; pituḥ 16; pippalam 20, 22; piba 40; puṁsaḥ 16; putraḥ 16; purīṣiṇam 12; puṣyasi 49; pūrve 50; pṛcchāmi 5, 6, 34; pṛthivī 33; pṛthivyāḥ 34, 35; pṛṣṭhe 10; pṛśnim 43; prajātam 18; prathamam 4; prathamajāḥ 37; prathamāni 43, 50; pradiśā 36; praṣṭum 4; prāṅ.

bandhuḥ 3; babhāja ā 8; baṣkaye 5; bahudhā 46; bahuprajāḥ 32; bibharti 4; bibhrat 10; bibhratī 17; bībhatsuḥ 8; bṛhantam 52; bravītu 7; brahmā 35; brāhmaṇāḥ 45.

bhagavatī 40; bhagavantaḥ 40; bhavanti pari 36; bhāgam 21, 37; bhuvanasya 21, 34, 35, 36; buvanāni 2, 13, 14; bhuvaneṣu 31; bhūmim 51; bhūmyāḥ 4; bhūribhāraḥ 13; bhrātā 1.

madhyamaḥ 1; madhye 30; madhvadaḥ 22; manaḥ 18; manasā 5, 8, 27, 37, 38; manīṣiṇaḥ 45; manuṣyāḥ 45; mantrayante 10; mayobhūḥ

49; martyam 29; martyasya 30; martyena 30, 38; mahate 27; mahitvā 25; mahimānaḥ 50; mahī 33; mahnā 25; mātariśvānam 46; mātavai 28; mātā 8,9,33; mātuḥ 28; māyum 28, 29; mitram 46; mithunāsaḥ 11; mimate 24; mimāti 28, 29; mimāya 41; mimīte prati 24; miṣantam anu 28; mūrdhānam 28.

yajñam 50; yajñaḥ 35; yajñena 50; yamam 46; yuktā 9; yuktāḥ 19; juñjanti 2 yūthe 17 yoniḥ 33 yonau 32.

rajasaḥ 19; rajasā 14; ratnadhā 49; ratham 2, 3: rathantare 25; ririce pra 25; rūpam 44; rūpaśaḥ 15; rūpe 6; rejante 15; retaḥ 34, 35, 36.

vatsam 17, 27, 28; vatsaḥ 9; vatse 5; vadanti 45, 46; vapate 44; varīvarti ā 31; varuṇam 46; vardhatām 27; varvarti 11; vavṛte vi 14; vavṛtran ā 47; vavrim 7, 29; vasānaḥ 31; vasānāḥ 7, 47; vasupatnī 27; vasuvit 49; vasūnām 27; vahati 2; vahanti 3, 19; vāk 45; vākam 24; vākena 24; vācam 10; vācaḥ 34, 35, 37, 45; vāmasya 1, 7; vāyasam 52; vāryāṇi 49; vāvasānā abi 28; vikṛtāni 15; vicakṣaṇam 12; vijānāt 16; vidathā 21; viduḥ 23, 39, 45; vidmane 6; vidyut 29; vidvāṁsam 4; vidvān na 26; vidharmaṇi 36; vipaścitaḥ 36; viprāḥ 46; viyantā 38; viveśa ā 21, 32; viśpatim 1; viśvam 42, 44; viśvataḥ 36; viśvarūpyam 9; viśvavidam 10; viśvasya 21; visvā 2, 13, 14, 49; viśve 22, 39; viṣuvatā 43; viṣūcīḥ 31; viṣūcīnā 38; viṣṇoḥ 36; vihitāni 15; vīrāḥ 43; vṛkṣam 20; vṛkṣe 22; vṛjanīṣu 9; vṛṣṇaḥ 34, 35; vṛṣṭibhiḥ 52; veḥ 7; veda 7; veda na 22, 32, 39; vediḥ 35; vocam u su 26; vocat pra 18; vyoma 34, 35; vyoman 39, 41.

śakamayam 43; śacībhiḥ 44; śaṅkavaḥ 48; śaye 30; śaśvantā 38; śaśayaḥ 49; śiṅkte 29; śīryate 13; śīrṣṇaḥ 7; śuddham 40; śritā adhi 29; śreṣṭham 26.

saṁvatsare 44; sakhāyā 20; sacantā 50; sadanāt 47; sadhrīcīḥ 31; sanāt 13; sanābhiḥ 13; sanemi 14; samānam 20, 51; samiddhaḥ 37; samudrāḥ 42; sayujā 20; sayoniḥ 38; sarasvati 49; sarasvantam 52; salilāni 41; savam 26; savitā 26; sasvajāte, pari 20; sākañjānam 15; sādhyāḥ 50; sāviṣat 26; sindhum 25; sudatraḥ 49; sudughām 26; suparṇam 52; suparṇaḥ 46; suparṇā 21; suparṇāḥ 22, 47; suyavasāt 40; suvate 22; suhastaḥ 26; sūte 17; sūryam 25; 25; sūrvasya 14; sṛkvāṇam 28; soma 19; somaḥ 35; saubhagāya 27; stanaḥ 49; striyaḥ 16; sthātre 15; svasāraḥ 3; svadhayā 38; svadhābhiḥ 30; svādu 20, 22.

harayaḥ 47; hiruk 27; hiṅ 28; hiṅkṛṇvatī hotuḥ 1; hvaye upa 26.

CHAPTER II

1. Yāska: Nighaṇṭu V-4. Nirukta for interpretation X-11, 12. Yama,. Nighaṇṭu V-4.

2. Maruts are called Marta and Marya. The name itself may be traced to the root Mar (to die). They were the foremost to drink Soma. The Ṛbhus are metioned in many places as having become immortal on account of their skill. For both the gods, see the Vedas by C. Kunhan Raja, Andhra University publication, Chapter VI. Yama; also see the Vedas besides the Chapter on him in this book.

3. Seven mouths: saptāsya IV-15-4.

5. Entirely to Bṛhaspati, I-190; VI-73; X-67, 68, 182. Partly to Bṛhaspati, I-139-10; II-23-2 to 4, 6 to 8, 10, 12 to 16 and 18. II-30-9; III-62-4 to 6; IV-50-1 to 9; VI-47-20 c; VII-97-2, 4 to 8; X-103-4. Bṛhaspati and Indra, completely IV-49, and partly IV-50-10 and 11; V-II-97- 10. VIII-96-15.

6. Indra, Soma and Dakṣiṇā, I-18-4, 5.

7. (1) I-139-10. (2) I-190. (3) II-23, the verses noted in paragraph 5. Here there is also Brahmaṇas pati coming in; but they are substantially the same. (4) IV-50. (5) VI-73. (6) X-67. (7) IV-49. For partial treatment of the dual gods, see note on paragraph 5.

8. Tīkṣṇa-śṛṅga X-155-2. Śatapatra and Hiraṇyavāśīḥ VII-97-7. Ṛtajya II-24-8. This is about Brahmaṇas pati, who is not different. The word is ṛtajya as an epithet of his bow. Iron axe X. 53-9 where Brahmaṇas pati is spoken of as having the axe made by Tvaṣṭar. Ruddy steeds VII-97-6. Son of the two worlds VII-97-8. Tvaṣṭar II-23-17.

9. Inrdra etc. I-40-5. Thi is about Brahmaṇas pati. All the other features are very pominent. See VII-10 4, X-14-3 for association with singers. The second is in the poem about Yama.

10. The relation of Bṛhaspati to the Lokāyatika or Cārvāka system has to be carefully scrutinised. I am explaining this point in another book.

15. The Dhvani doctrine is implied in this.

17. It is only in poem 9, 10, 21, 22, 25, 26, 30, 31, 32, 34, 36, 37, 38 and 41 that the passage does not occur. In the twelfth poem, the other passage occurs. Bride and the married couple. X. 85-26 and 27.

20. Seven Ṛṣis. See Ch. VII-vii.

22. The beauty in poetry is compared to a loving wife in later treatises on literary criticism like Mammaṭa's Kāvyaprakāśa where there is the comparison kāntāsammitatayā, which is repeated in the Pratāparudrīya by Vidyanātha. Ānandavardhana calls this Dhvani as the Upaniṣad of poetry under the first Kārikā in his Dhvanyāloka.

24. This high position of a poet in the society of those days must be taken special note of. They are the most honoured and they are safe

from all injury, not merely physical, but also mental, emotional and intellectual.

29. The meaning of the verse, especially the last quarter, is made clear by Maheśvara in his Niruktabhāṣyaṭīkā I-9.

33. The idea is more or less similar to what Dīrghatamas hints in I-164-5.

43. Such introductory passages are quite common in the Ṛgveda like Viṣṇor nu kam vīryāṇi pra vocam (I-154-1). Indrasya nu vīryāṇi pra vocam (I-32-1) and yad vājino devajātasya sapteḥ pravakṣyāmo vidathe vīryāṇi (I-162-1).

45. The origin of the gods is variously described in the Ṛgveda. They are the off-spring of heaven and earth and also the offspring of other gods. There are earlier (pūrve) gods. They must have been originally mortals since it is said that the Sun God bestowed immortality on them: devebhyo hi prathamam yajñiyebhyo 'mṛtatvam suvasi bhāgam uttamam (IV-54-2); about Fire it is said: tava kratubhir amṛtatvam āyan (VI-7-4). They became immortal by drinking Soma: tvām devāso amṛtāya kam papuḥ (IX-106-8). This idea is very common in the later texts of the Vedas also.

47. Space: āśā.

48. Tree imagery. I-24-7, I-164-20 to 23, X-135-1, Kaṭhopaniṣad VI-1 and Gītā XV-1.

51. Dīrghatamas. See I-164-33.

55. This reference to dance is very noteworthy. If the Dawn is thought of as a handsome young lady got ready for a dance, that is quite natural. Here the activity of gods in the early stages of the formation of the world is compared to the dance of artists in public. That shows a very advanced civilization with a highly developed art of dance and music.

57. I am not quite sure of the meaning of the word Yatis. The root yat means " to extert ". Its causal form means to put to activity or to bring together, as in yātayajjana. The yatis must be holy persons with certain super-human powers and are mentioned along with Bhṛgus and in other contexts. See apām artham yatīnām (I-158-6), turam yatīṣu turayann ṛjipyaḥ (IV-38-7), vaiśvānarāya yataye matīnām (VII-13-1), yenā yatibhyo bhṛgave dhane hite (VIII-3-9), ya indra yatayas tvā (VIII-6-18), sahasranītir yatiḥ parāyati (IX-71-7). In the passages in the VII and IX Books, the meaning seems to be " one who exerts or inspires ". It may be a poet, having the same meaning as vipra.

59. See Dīrghatamas, I-164-15. For Ādityas, see imā gira ādityebhyo . . . . juhomi śṛṇotu mitro aryamā bhago nas tuvijāto varuṇo dakṣo

aṁśaḥ, where the names relate to the ādityas (II-27-1). devā ādityā ye sapta (IX-114-3), where the number is given as seven. Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa I-i-9-1. See also Sāyaṇa on II-27-1.

67. Bhartṛhari: anādinidhanam brahma śabdatattvam yad akṣaram. vivartate 'rthabhāvena prakriyā jagato yatah (I-1).

69. The two sub-schools of the first school are represented by the Cārvākas and the Mīmāṁsakas. The others stand for an entirely different outlook.

71. This is again the Cārvāka school.

72. Kaṭhopaniṣad I-26 to 29. There is the usual statement, paṇḍitānam idam, na tu pāmarāṇām relating to questions of the Absolute. Rāmāyana and Mahābhārata speak only of the three goals. Of course, there is the Mokṣa portion in the Śāntiparvan.

74. When Svarga became the goal for religious life and when Mokṣa became the goal for wisdom, the Cārvākas became militant rebels, and the opposition is to this new phase in Cārvāka outlook, and the opposition is only from a particular school of thought.

CHAPTER III

3. The story is narrated in the Aitareya Brahmana, Pañcikā VII. Bound by ropes. See verses that close the two poems. Śunaḥśepa's poems are I-24 to 30 and IX-3.

4. Kumāra. V-2-7.

6. Bṛhaspati X-72.

7. Dīrghatamas I-164-21. Yama X-135-1.

8. Dīrghatamas I-164-1.

9. Dīrghatamas I-164-2 ff. Viśpati: I-164-1. Yama X-135-1. Ino viśvasya I-164-21.

10. Dīrghatamas I-164-4 ff.

11. Tree: Kaṭhopaniṣad VI-1. See also Gītā XV-1.

12. Uttānapada X-I72-3, 4.

13. Bṛhaspati X-71.

15. Bṛhaspati X-72-3, 4.

17. Earlier passage: verse 7. Path for the sun: verse 8.

21. Agni: 26 and 27. Indra etc.: 28. Indra: 29. Indra, Aśvins and Uṣas: 30.

22. Continue in this world: I-24-11; 25-12.

25. Trita: I-105.

26. Kūrma: II-28. There is mention of Varuṇa in II-27 and 29 too. In these poems, Gṛtsamada is given as alternative poet. Atri: V-85-8. Vasiṣṭha: VII-86-3.

27. Kumāra: V-2-7.

28. Parucchepa: I-127 to 139. See Kauṣītaki XXIII-4. Vārtika gives the derivation of the three names in Pāṇini VI-iii-21.

30. Vasiṣṭha: see VII-86.

33. Havis and Yajña: I-24-14. Hotar: I-25-17.

CHAPTER IV

1. First to find the Path—Yamo no gātum prathamo vivedā X-14-2.

2. Yama alone knew the truth—Kaṭhopaniṣad I-22. This did not become a dogma; others too had realised the truth—yatrā naḥ pūrve pitaras pareyur enā jajñānāḥ pathyā anu svāḥ X-14-2. All the Sages, the poets who had composed the Ṛgvedic text have realised the truth directly.

3. He was king along with Varuṇa—Ubhā rājanā. . .yamam . . varuṇañ ca devam X-14-7. See later where it is suggested that he was a king on the earth and that he retained that title in the other world also (Para 100).

> Varuṇa is emperor—Apo su myakṣa varuṇa bhiyasam mat samrāḷ ṛtāvo 'nu mā gṛbhāya II. 28-6.
>
> pra samrāje bṛhad arcā gabhīram brahma priyam varuṇāya śrutāya V-85-1.
>
> Mitrāvaruṇa—Samrājā ugrā vṛṣabhā divas patī pṛthivyā mitrāvaruṇā vicarṣaṇī V-63-3 and in many places.

5. Vaivasvata, son of Vivasvat. The term occurs as an epithet of Yama in IX-11-3-8, X-14-1, 58-1, 60, 10, 164-2.

Mother is Saraṇyū, the daughter of Tvaṣṭar—the point is clear in X-17-1 and 2. Her name is given as the daughter of Tvaṣṭar and as the mother of Yama and as the wife of Vivasvat.

6. There is the dialogue of Yama and Yamī (brother and sister) in X-10 and Yamī is also the poetess for X-154.

> Saṅgamana—Vaivasvatam saṅgamanañ janānām X-14-1.
>
> Mitra who brings people together—Mitro janān yātayati bruvānaḥ III-591.
>
> The term is also applied to others. yātayajjano gṛṇate suśevaḥ. tasmā etat . . . . . mitrāya III-59. 5.
>
> mitras tayor varuno yātayajjano 'ryamā yātayajjanaḥ I-136-3.

mitram na yātayajjanam VIII. 102-12.
Dharmaṇā Yātayajjanā (Mitrā-varuṇa) V-72-2.
Night and Savitar put to rest—Hvayāmi ratrīm jagato niveśanīm—I-35-1. Niveśayann amṛtam martyañ ca I-35-2.

7. Yatra rājā vaivasvataḥ IX-113-8.
Vaivasvatam saṅgamanañ janānām X-14-1.
yamād aham vaivasvatāt X-60-10.
bhadram vaivasvate cakṣuḥ X-164-2.
yat te yamam vaivasvatam mano jagāma dūrakam X-58-1.

8. There is vívasvat and also vivásvat; similarly yáma and yamá. vivasvat father of the aśvins—apāgūhann amṛtām martyebhyaḥ kṛtvī savarṇām adadur vivasvate. utāśvināv abharad yat tadāsīd ajahād u dvā mithunā saranyūḥ X-17-2.

Gods, progeny of vivasvat—janimā vivasvataḥ . . . . . . devāḥ X-63-1.

10. Yama not a god—the term deva is not directly applied to him. Yama was king, rājā: yatra rājā vaivasvataḥ IX-113-8, ubhā rājānā. . . . . yamam . . varuṇañ ca devam X-14-7 etc.

Two poems X-14 and 135. These two and the other poems interpreted will be given in full at the end.

In the dialogue between Yama and Yamī, the words of Yama are mentioned as having Yama as the poet and the same is the case with the words of Yamī addressed to Yama. X-10.

For X-14, the poet is given as Yama himself, theme too being Yama.

14. There is a separate chapter on the Aṅgiras and on Bṛhaspati in this book.

15. parasparam bhāvayantaḥ śreyaḥ param avāpsyatha—Gītā III-11. Also look the passages immediately preceding and following. dudoha gām sa yajñāya sasyāya maghavā divam. sampadvinimayenobhau dadhatur bhuvanadvayam—Raghuvaṁśa I. 26.

20. The term Vairūpas will be taken up in the chapter on the Aṅgiras.

22. The term Navagvas will be taken up in the chapter on the Aṅgiras.

23. When there is one adjective, this must be taken along with all the nouns; thus in verses 5 and 6, the epithets "worthy of Sacrifice" and "worthy of Soma" apply to Vairūpas and Aṅgiras though they are used along with Aṅgiras and Atharvan respectively.

26. Cultural Heritage of India, Article on the Vedic culture, P. 207.
The Vedas, Andhra University, Ch. XI, Para 60.

27. Description of region of light IX-113-6 to 11.

30. There has been some reference to Saramā in dealing with Bṛhaspati.

42. Temptation of Buddha, described in the 13th canto in the Buddhacarita.

56. The dialogue of Yama and Yamī is introduced in the later Puraṇa literature also.

57. see Lalitavistara and other Sanskrit works and the Pali literature.

58. Reality is one spoken of as many I-164-46.

Vasiṣṭha speaks of the dead ancestors—VII-76-4.

59. Yama beloved friend of Agni who is the messenger of Vivasvat—bhuvad dūto vivasvataḥ. . . . . . priyo yamasya kāmyaḥ X-21-5.

The author is given as Vimada, son of Indra, or son of Prajāpati or Vasukra, son of Vasukṛt.

The description, already referred to, is given in IX-113-6 to 11:

The respective passages are:

yatra brahmā pavamānaḥ chandasyām vācam vadan 6.
yatra jyotir ajasram yasmin loke svar hitam. . . . . amṛte loke 7.
yatra rājā vaivasvato yatrāvarodhanan divaḥ yatrāmūr yahvatīr āpaḥ 8.
yatrānukāmañ caraṇam . . . lokā yatra jyotiṣmantaḥ 9.
yatra kāmā nikāmāś ca . . . svadhā ca yatra tṛptis ca 10.
yatrānandās ca nandāś ca mudaḥ pramuda eva ca. kāmasya yatrāptāḥ kamāḥ 11.

60. Mind to return—yamād aham vaivasvatāt subandhor mana ābharam X-63-10.

yat te yamam vaivasvatam mano jagāma dūrakam X-58-1.

auspicious things to see—bhadram vaivasvate cakṣuḥ X-164-2.

61. Yama has domain over a third of the universe—tisro dyāvaḥ savitur dvā upasthā ekā yamasya bhuvane virāṣāt I-35-6.

61. may not go along Yama's Path—mā vi mṛgo na yavase jaritā bhūd ajoṣyaḥ. pathā yamasya gād upa I-38-5.

yama is Death—tasmai yamāya namo astu mṛtyave X-165-4.

Yama's fetters:

muñcantu mā śapathyād atho varuṇyād uta. atho yamasya paḍbiśād sarvasmād devakilbiṣāt X-97-16.

Sinners kept out—perhaps that is what the dogs do X-14-11 with the protection of the Path; see also the prayer to the dog not to go to those who worship Indra, but only to those who steal. VII-55-3.

62. See the first section in the Vendidad, where the sixteen regions created by Ahura Mazda and the corresponding sixteen regions of evil created by Angre Mainyo are mentioned.

Naraka—athāhur nārakam lokam A.V. XII-4-36.

Naraka is darkness:

> na vai tatra mriyante no yanty adhamam tamaḥ A.V. VIII-2-24.
>
> udehi mṛtyor gambhīrāt kṛṣṇāc cit tamasas pari A.V. V-30-11.
>
> andhena yat tamasā prāvṛtāsīt A.V. XVIII-3-3.

63. Animals as drawing charitos of gods—see Nighaṇtu I-15.

64. Yama's names, among others are: dharmarājaḥ . . samavartī. Amarakośa I-61.

Buddha too Dharmaraja—sarvajñaḥ sugato buddho dharmarājas tathāgataḥ. Amarakośa I-13.

65. Kaṭhopanisad. Yama, only wise man I-22.

66. Śunaḥśepa story—Aitareya Brahmana, Pañcikā VII.

68. Kaṭhopanisad, beginning, narrates the story of Naciketas.

72. Kumāra in X-135.

74. Tree in Śunaḥśepa—abudhne rājā varuṇo vanasyordhvam stūpam dadate pūtadaksah. nīcīnāḥ syur upari budhna eṣām asme antar nihitāḥ ketavaḥ syuḥ I-24-7.

Tree in Kaṭhopaniṣad VI-1.

Tree in Bhagavad Gītā XV-1 to 3.

75. Tree in Dīrghatamas—I-164-20 to 22.

76. See chapter on Dīrghatamas, where the three verses are translated.

77. Madhu Vidyā: see commentaries on the Ṛgveda I-116-12 explained by Sāyaṇa and by Skandasvāmin.

Disease in Aṣṭāṅgahṛdaya is mental:

> rāgādirogān satatānuṣaktān. . . autsukyamohāratidān jaghāna yo 'pūrvavaidyāya namo 'stu tasmai.

This is said about Buddha.

Kālidāsa: prāṇāntahetum api tam bhiṣajām asādhyam—Raghuvaṁśa VIII-93. This is said about the grief in the king.

79. Viśva is " All ' and Viś is People.

In the Inscriptions of Darius:

> auramazdā pātuv ūtāmaiy vidham (Persepolis H. 1 10 Kent's edition P. 137). baratuv hadā vidhabiiṣ bagaibiṣ (Persepolis d. Kent's edition P. 135) and in many places.

83. The word Pāpayā:

sam indra gardabham mṛṇa nuvantam pāpayāmuyā I-29-5.
aśrīrā tanūr bhavati ruśatī pāpayāmuyā.
patir yad vadhvo vāsasā svam aṅgam abhidhitasti X.85-30.

85. Dīrghatmas's disappointments and triumph. I-164-4 to 7 and 21. See the chapter on Dīrghatamas.

87. Chariot in Kaṭhopaniṣad III-3.

88. I draw two parallels:

(1) Sacrifices, killing of Vṛtra and release of waters, pitṛyāna.
(2) Knowledge, killing of Vala and release of light and Devayāna.

89. Perhaps the new body here may be compared to the body implied in X-14-8.

In X-81-2, 4; 129-6, there is a question of the same nature.

90. " Accompaniment " in the wedding poem—X-85-7. It is more a present and the word Anudeya, a present, occurs in VI-20-11 where Indra is spoken of as having given the young Navavāstva, the son, to his father as such a present.

91. Special attention must be paid to the reference to the bugle and the songs in the abode of Yama as prominently mentioned.

92. Yama in heaven is described in X-14.

93. Sāyaṇa is right in his reading the incident of Naciketas going to Yama and the father's cruelty to Naciketas in sending him there and the displeasure of Naciketas on account of this action. But I read the verse along with the tree in the poem of Śuneḥśepa (I-24-7) and the poem of Dīrghatamas (I-164-20 to 22), and give another interpretation.

95. X-10, 14 and 135.

The fourth poem is X-154.

Yama in the vocative in the last two verses.

96. The eligibility to go to the abode of Yama, enumerated in the poem may be taken note of.

98. Yama mentioned along with other gods in I-164-46, X-64-3 and 92-11. The three verses are:

indram mitram varuṇam agnim āhur atho divyaḥ sa suparṇo garutmān
ekam sad viprā bahudhā vadanty agnim yamam mātariśvānam āhuḥ I-164-46.
sūryāmāsā candramasā yamam divi tritam vātam uṣasam aktum aśvinā X-64-3.

> te hi dyāvāpṛthivī bhūriretasā narāśaṁsaś caturaṅgo yo 'ditiḥ
> devas tvaṣṭā draviṇodā ṛbhukṣaṇaḥ pra rodasī maruto viṣṇur
> arhire X-92-11.

Yama found out the fire. Tan tvā yamo aciketac citrabhāno X-51-3. Yama gave up his body etc.:

> devebhyaḥ kam avṛṇīta mṛtyum prajāyai kam amṛtam nāvṛṇīta
> bṛhaspatim yajñam akṛṇvata ṛṣim priyām yamas tanvam
> prārirecīt X-13-4.

99. First to die:

> yo mamāra prathamo martyānām yaḥ preyāya prathamo lokam
> etat
> vaivasvatam saṅgamanañ janānām yamam rājānam haviṣā
> saparyata A.V. XVIII-13

100. Yama offered long life and wealth and other attractions, which Naciketas refused to accept.

102. There is the chapter on Manu which follows.

Manu started the line of kings. See

> Vaivasvato manur nāma mānanīyo manīṣiṇām
> āsīn mahīkṣitām ādyaḥ praṇavaḥ chandasām iva. Kālidasa's
> Raghuvaṁśa I-11.

103. There are Yāmāyanas, progeny of Yama: Ūrdhvakṛśana, Kumāra (Already noted in connection with X-135), Damana, Devaśravas, Mathita, Śaṅkha and Saṅkusuka, as poets in the Ṛgveda.

If Yama, during his life time, had no notion of moral life, he would not have talked about the social conventions in his advice to Yamī.

For the concluding portion, see Vedas (Andhra University) by Dr. C. Kunhan Raja Ch. 5, Para 8 (P. 53).

CHAPTER V

1. f. See the Vedas, Ch. VI, Para 40 ff.

4. X-81 and 82 for Viśvakarman and X-121 for Hiraṇyagarbha. The poet in X-129 is given as Parameṣṭhin, which is another name for the Creator in later Sanskrit.

5. Manu the first king: see Kalidasa's Raghuvaṁśa: Vaivasvato manur nāma mānanīyo manīṣiṇām. āsīn mahīkṣitām ādyaḥ I-11. He is the first law-giver and so the Code is called after him, the Manusmṛti.

6. They were not also the authors of any poem in the Ṛgveda.

7. yebhyo hotrām prathamām āyeje manuḥ X-63-7 and yam atharvā manuṣ pitā I-80-16. These two aspects will be developed presently.

sa. . . . imāḥ prajā ajanayan manūnām (Agni) I-96-2 sa mātariśvā . . . vidad gātum tanayāya svarvit I-90-4.

8. Prajānām vinayādhānād rakṣaṇād bharaṇād api. sa pitā pitaras tāsām kevalam janmahetavaḥ I-24. There are statements in modern works on the Vedas that humanity originated from Yama and Yamī; see Vedic Mythology by Macdonell, P.15; this may be the case with the Iranian tradition.

9. (1) ni tvām agne manur dadhe jyotir janāya śaśvate. didetha kaṇva ṛtajāta ukṣito yam namasyanti kṛṣṭayaḥ I-36-19.

(2) yat te manur yad anīkam sumitraḥ samidho agne sa idam juṣasva. sa revacc choca sa giro juṣasva sa vā vājam darṣi sa iha śravo dhāḥ X-69-3.

Kaṇva and the members of his family composed earlier parts of the poems in the eighth Book of the Ṛgveda.

(3) yathā viprasya manuṣo havirbhir devā ayajaḥ kavibhiḥ kaviḥ san. evā hotaḥ satyatara tvam adyāgne mandrayā juhvā yajasva I-76-5 Gotama Rāhūgaṇa is the poet here.

10. (1) yābhir narā śayave yābhir atraye yābhiḥ purā manave gātum īṣathuḥ. yābhih śārīr ājatam syūmarasmaye tabhir ū ṣu ūtibhir aśvinā gatam I-112 16.

(2) yābhir manum śūram iṣā samāvatam. . . tābhir ū ṣu ūtibhir aśvinā gatam I-112-18.

11. dadhyaṅ ha me januṣam pūrvo aṅgiraḥ priyamedhaḥ kaṇvo atrir manur viduṣ te me pūrve manur viduḥ. teṣām deveṣv āyatir asmākam teṣu nābhayaḥ. ṣām padena mahyā name girendrāgnī ā name girā I-139-9.

The poets mentioned along with Manu may be noted.

12. yathāpavathā manave vayodhā amitrahā varivovid dhaviṣmān. evā pavasva draviṇan dadhāna indre sam tiṣtha janayāyudhāni IX-96-12.

13. Yajñena yajñam ayajanta devās tāni dharmāṇi prathamāny āsan I-164-50; X-90-16.

14. (1) mṛlā no rudrota no mayas kṛdhi kṣayadvīrāya namasā vidhema te. yac chañ ca yoś ca manur āyeje pitā tad aśyāma tava rudra praṇītiṣu I-114-2.

(2) yā vo bheṣajā marutaḥ śucīni yā śantamā vṛṣaṇo yā mayobhu. yāni manur avṛṇītā pitā nas tā śañ ca yoś ca rudrasya vaśmi II-33-13.

(3) sa pūrvyo mahānām venaḥ kratubhir ānaje. yasya dvārā manuṣ pitā deveṣu dhiya ānaje VIII-63-1.

(4) Indra ukthena śavasā parur dadhe bṛhaspate pratarītāsyāyuṣaḥ. yajño manuḥ pramatir naḥ pitā hi kam ā sarvatātim aditim vṛṇīmahe X-100-5.

15. (1) pra su ṣa vibhyo maruto vir astu pra śyenaḥ śyenebhya āśupatvā. acakrāya yat svadhayā suparṇo havyam bharan manave devajuṣṭam IV-26-4.

(2) sakhā sakhye apacat tūyam agnir asya kratvā mahiṣā trī śatāni. trī sākam indro manuṣaḥ sarāṁsi sutam pibat vṛtrahatyāya somam V-29-7.

16. (1) yathā manau sāṁvaraṇau somam indrāpibaḥ sutam VIII-51-1.

(2) yathā manau vivasvati somam śakrāpibaḥ sutam VIII-52-1.

(3) Tasyā manur vaivasvato vatsa āsīt A.V. VIII-10-24. In the previous verse there is a similar passage: tasyā yamo rājā vatsa āsīt (verse 6 in the same).

17. Sāyaṇa narrates the story under X-17-1. See also X-17-2.

Manu Vaivasvata VIII-52-1 (Vālakhilya). S.B. III-4-3-3: Manur vaivasvato rājety āha; see also yamo vaivasvato rājety āha S.B. XIII-4-3-5.

18. Manu Sāṁvaraṇi VIII-51-1. Manu Sāvarṇya: pra nūnam jāyatām ayam manuḥ X-62 8. sāvarṇyasya dakṣiṇā vi sindhur iva paprathe X-62-9. sāvarṇer devāḥ pra tirantv āyuḥ X-62-11.

Nābhānediṣṭha is poet in X-61 and 62. The three verses are:

(1) pra nūnam jāyatām ayam manuṣ takmeva rohatu. yaḥ sahasraṁ śatāśvam sadyo dānāya maṁhate X-62-8.

(2) na tam aśnoti kaścana diva iva sānv ārabham sāvarṇyasya dakṣiṇā vi sindhur iva paprathe X-62-9.

(3) sahasradā grāmaṇīr mā riṣan manuḥ sūryeṇāsya yatamānaitu dakṣinā. sāvarṇer devāḥ pra tirantv āyur yasmin aśrāntā asanāma vājam X-62-11.

Saṁvaraṇa in the Lunar dynasty: The line is Duṣṣanta, Bharata, Bhūmanyu, Suhotra, Hastī (who founded Hastinapura and changed the capital from Pratiṣṭhāna), Vikuñjana, Ajamīḻha, Saṁvaraṇa; then Kuru was his son.

Sāvarṇi Manu; the names of the fourteen Manus are given later in the chapter in Para 26. He was king Suratha who ruled the country in the time of the second of the fourteen Manus, Svārociṣa Manu.

20. manuṣvad agne aṅgirasvad aṅgiro yayātivat sadane pūrvavac chuce. acchā yāhy ā vaha daivyañ janam ā sādaya barhiṣi yakṣi ca priyam I-31-17.

Yayāti: The Moon had a son Budha through his wife Tārā. Brahmā had Kāśyapa as one of his sons, and Kāśyapa had the son Vivasvat through his wife Aditi. Manu was the son of Vivasvat and Manu had a son Iḷa, who was in turn a man and woman month after month in the year. Purūravas was the son of Budha through Iḷa as a woman. Āyus was the son of Purūravas through his wife Urvaśī and Nahuśa was the son of Āyus. Yayāti was the son of Nahuṣa. He had, through his wife Devayānī, the two sons Yadu and Turvasu. By his other wife Śarmiṣṭhā, he had three sons—Druhyu, Pūru and Anu. All these names occur in the Ṛgveda. They form what are called the " Five Peoples " (Pañca-jana) according to modern interpretation.

21. Places where Manu is the ideal for the performance of the sacrifices:

(1) ni tvā yajñasya sādhanam agne hotāram ṛtvijam. manuṣvad deva dhīmahi pracetasam jīram dūtam amartyam I-44-11.

(2) vāvasānā vivasvati somasya pītyā girā. manuṣvac chambhū ā gatam I-46-13.

(3) Agne tava tyad ukthyam deveṣv asty āpyam. sa naḥ satto manuṣvad ā devan yakṣi viduṣṭaro vittam me asya rodasī I-105-13.

satto hotā manuṣvad ā devā acchā viduṣṭara. agnir havyā suṣūdati devo deveṣu medhira vittam me asya rodasī I-105-14.

(4) ā yasmint sapta raśmayas tatā yajñasya netari. manuṣvad daivyam aṣṭamam potā viśvam tad invati II-5-2.

(5) yathāyajo hotram agne pṛthivyā yathā divo jātavedaś cikitvān. evānena haviṣā yakṣi devān manuṣvad yajñam pra tiremam adya III-17-2.

(6) Manuṣvad indra savanañ juṣāṇaḥ pibā somam śaśvate vīryāya. sa ā vavṛtsva haryaśva yajñaiḥ saraṇyubhir apo arṇā sisarṣi III-32-5.

(7) ayam vo yajña ṛbhavo 'kāri yam ā manuṣvad pradivo daddidhve. pra vo 'cchā jujuṣāṇāso asthur abhūta viśve agriyota vājāḥ IV-34-3.

(8) Manuṣvat tvā ni dhīmahi manuṣvat samidhīmahi. agne manuṣvad aṅgiro devān devayate yaja V-21-1.

(9) śruṣṭī vām yajña udyataḥ sajoṣā manuṣvad vṛktabarhiṣo yajadhyai. ā ya indrāvaruṇāv iṣe adya mahe sumnāya maha ā vavartat VI-68-1.

(10) īḷenyam vo asuram sudakṣam antar dūtam rodasī satyavācam, manuṣvad agnim manunā samiddham sam adhvarāya sadam in mahema VII-2-3.

(11) triś cid aktoḥ pra cikitur vasūni tve antar dāśuṣe martyāya. manuṣvad agna iha yakṣi devān bhavā no dūto abhiśastipāvā VII-11-3.

(12) vayam vo vṛktabarhiṣo hitaprayasa ānuṣak. sutasomāso varuṇa havāmahe manuṣvad iddhāgnayaḥ VIII-27-7. Note that this is ascribed according to the indices to Manu the son of Vivasvat.

(13) uta tvā bhṛguvac chuce manuṣvad agna āhuta. aṅgirasvad dhavāmahe VIII-43-13.

(14) yam tvā janāsa indhate manuṣvad aṅgirastama. agne sa bodhi me vacaḥ VIII-43-27.

(15) uta tvā me raudrāv arcimantā nāsatyāv indra gūrtaye yajadhyai. manuṣvad vṛktabarhiṣe rarāṇā mandū hitaprayasā vikṣu yajyū X-61-15.

(16) tisro devīr barhir idam varīya ā sīdatā cakṛmā vaḥ syonam. manuṣvad yajñam sudhita havīṁṣīlā devī ghṛtapad, juṣanta X 70-8.

(17) ā no yajñam bhāratī tūyam etv iḷā manuṣvad iha cetayantī. tisro devīr barhir edam syonam sarasvatī svapasaḥ sadantu X-110-8.

22. (1) yam tvā devāso manave dadhur iha yajiṣṭham havyavāhana. yaṅ kaṇvo medhyātithir dhanaspṛśam yam vṛṣā yam upastutaḥ. I-36-10.

(2) yam mātariśvā manave parāvato devam bhāḥ parāvataḥ I-128-2.

(4) dyāvā yam agnim pṛthivī janiṣṭham apas tvaṣṭā bhṛgave yam sahobhih. īḷenyam prathamam mātariśvā devas tatakṣur manave yajatram X-46-9.

(3) uśanā kāvyas tvā ni hotāram asādayat. āyajim tvā manave jātavedasam VIII-23-17.

23. The story of the deluge under Manave ha vai prātaḥ in S.B. I-8-1 in ten passages, up to sāsmai sarvā samārādhyata.

30. See the story in the commentary under X-17-1.

41. See Amara Kośa I-3-21 and 22 and Kṣīrasvāmin's commentary thereon; also Manusmṛti I-98 ff.

CHAPTER VI

3. The 38 passages cited in this paragraph occur as:

(1) I-51-3 (2) I-62-2 (3) I-62-3 (4) I-62-5 (5) I-71-2 (6) I-100-4 (7) I-107-2 (8) I-121-1 (9) I-121-3 (10) I-127-2 (11) I-132-4 (12) I-139-4 (13) II-15-8 (14) II-20-5 (15) III-53-7 (16) IV-2-15 (17) IV-16-8 (18) V-11-6 (19) V-45-8 (20) VI-18-5 (21) VI-65-5 (22) VII-42-1 (23) VII-44-4 (24) VII-52-3 (25) VIII-14-8 (26) VIII-63-3 (27) IX-62-9 (28) IX-86-23 (29) X-62-1 (30) X-62-4 (31) X-62-5 (32) X-67-2 (33) X-70-9 (34) X-78-5 (35) X-108-8 (36) X-108-10 (37) X-111-4 (38) X-169-2.

Many of the poets who speak of the Aṅgirases belong to that family.

4. (1) manuṣvad agne aṅgirasvad aṅgiro yayātivat sadane pūrvavac chuce. I-31-17.

(2) priyamedhavad atrivaj jātavedo virūpavat. aṅgirasvan mahivrata praskaṇvasya śrudhī havam I-45-3.

(3) pra manmahe śavasānāya śūṣam āṅgūṣam girvaṇase aṅgirasvat I-62-1.

(4) tam u tvā vājasātamam aṅgirasvad dhavāmahe I-78-3.

(5) tad asmai navyam aṅgirasvad arcata II-17-1.

(6) tam aṅgirasvan namasā saparyan navyam kṛṇomi sanyase purājam III-31-19.

(7) ā yuvānaḥ kavayo yajñiyāso maruto ganta gṛṇato varasyām acitram cid dhi junvathā vṛdhanta itthā nakṣanto naro aṅgirasvat VI-49-11.

(8) evendrāgnibhyām pitṛvan navīyo mandhātṛvad aṅgirasvad avāci VIII-40-12.

(9) uta tvā bhṛguvac chuce manuṣvad agna āhuta. aṅgirasvad dhavāmahe VIII-43-13.

5. bhinad valam indro aṅgirasvān II-11-20.

aurṇod dura usriyābhyo vi dṛḷhod ūrvād gā asṛjo aṅgirasvān VI-17-6.

Both are about Indra, having the company of the Aṅgirases aṅgirasvantā uta viṣṇuvantā marutvantā jaritur gacchatho havam. sajoṣasā uṣasā sūryeṇa ca VIII-35-14.

7. The two cases are given in Para 9.

9. The first passage is I-112-18 and the second passage is II-23-18.

10. Indra is aṅgirastama:

so aṅgirobhir aṅgirastamo bhūt I-100-4.

vrajam vajrī gavām iva siṣāsann aṅgirastamaḥ I-130-3.

Soma is aṅgirastama: tvam vipro abhavo 'ṅgirastamaḥ IX-107-6 Navagvas and Daśagvas are aṅgirastama:

ye agneh pari jajñire virūpāso divas pari. navagvo nu daśagvo
aṅgirastamaḥ sacā deveṣu maṁhate X-62-6.

Uṣas is agnirastamā:

apa druhas tama āvar ajuṣṭam aṅgirastamā VII-75-1.
vi divo devi duhitā dadhāty aṅgirastamā sukṛte vasūni VII-79-3.

11. Aṅgirases are Brāhmaṇas: pra brahmāṇo aṅgiraso nakṣanta VII-42-1.

16. Yatrā nah purve pitaraḥ pareyuḥ X-14-2.

17. Music in Yama's home is mentioned in X-135-7.

24. See the chapter on Yama, para 103.

The following names appear as members of the Manu family:

Nahuṣa IX-101-7 to 9, Cakṣus IX-106-4 to 6, Nābhānediṣṭha X-61, 62 and Śaryāta X-92. It may be noted that Cakṣus is the name of one of the fourteen Manus of the later mythology, the one immediately prior to the Vaivasvata Manu.

27. The seven Sages are: Marīci, Aṅgiras, Atri, Pulastya, Pulaha, Kratu and Vasiṣṭha.

CHAPTER VII

2. I-31-17 Like Yayāti.

4. X-63-1. Yayāti, son of Nahuṣa.

5. For Turvaśa and Yadu, see the combination turvaśāyadū and the passages where the two names come together, like I-36-18; 54-6; 174-9 and VI-45-1.

6. X-2-2; I-112-13. (This passage must be read as mandhātāram kṣaitrapatyeṣu). VIII-40-12 (Like Mandhātar).

7. The name is Mandhātar within the Ṛgveda while it is Māndhātar as the name of the poet for X-134.

9. See priyamedhavad atrivat (I-45-3). priyamedham upastutam VIII-5-25).

10. yajadhvainam priyamedha indram (VIII-2-37). arcata prārcata priyamedhāso arcata (VIII-69-8). This is by Priyamedha and not Medhapriya of the Aṅgiras Family, as given in the body of the book. There is no such poet. See also arcantu puṭrakā uta (Ibid.) Priyamedha in the plural. I-45-4; VII-3-16; VIII-8-18 VIII-69-18; X-73-11. priyamedhastutā harī (VIII-6-45).

11. evendrāgnibhyām pitṛvan navīyo mandhātṛvat (VIII-40-12).

13. I-45-3 virūpavat. ime bhojā aṅgiraso virūpāḥ (III-53-7). vācā virupa nityayā (VIII-75-6). virūpāsa id ṛṣayaḥ (X-62-5). ye agneḥ pari jajñire virūpāso divas pari. navagvo nu daśagvo aṅgirastamaḥ (X-62-6). yama vairūpair iha mādāyasva (X-14-5).

14. See Sāyaṇa on I-33-6. He refers to V-29-12.

15. aṅgiraso naḥ pitaro navagvāḥ (X-14-6). kṣitayo navagvāḥ I-33-6).

16. sapta vipraiḥ (I-62-4). sakhā ha yatra sakhibhir navagvaiḥ (III-39-5). yenā navgve aṅgire daśagve (IV-51-4). navagvāsaḥ sutasomāsa indram daśagvāso abhy arcanty arkaiḥ (V-29-12).

17. arcan yena daśa māso navagvāḥ (V-45-7); yayātaran daśa māso navagvāḥ (V-45-11). ṛtam yāti saramā gā avindad viśvāni satyāṅgiras cakāra (V-45-7). divyā navagvāḥ (VI-6-3) tam u naḥ pūrve pitaro navagvāḥ sapta viprāsaḥ (VI-22-2). yenā navagvo dadhyaṅṅ aporṇute (IX-108-4). makṣū kanāyāḥ sakhyam navagvāḥ (X-61-10). See ye agneḥ etc. cited in notes on paragraph 13.

20. te daśagvāḥ prathamā yajñam ūhire (II-34-12). daśagvinaḥ in VIII-1-9. yenā daśagvam adhrigum. The poet for this is Parvata and not the poet for VIII-1 who is Pragātha.

21. It must be noted that the words navagva and daśagva appear in the singular and that means that each is the name of some one. The reference to the ten months also cannot be overlooked. The word Aṅgiras also appears as a name in the singular (IV-51-4), along with navagva and daśagva in the singular.

23. Sapta ṛṣayaḥ IV-42-8 (Trasadasyu). sapta hotar III-10-4 etc. sapta vipra I-62-4 and in a large number of places. seven ṛṣis by Dvita IX-103-3 abhi vāṇīr ṛṣīṇām sapta nūṣata. Yajña: ṛṣayaḥ sapta daivyāḥ X-130-7 Juhu: sapta-ṛṣayas tapase ye niṣeduḥ X-109-4. viśvakarman: sapta-ṛṣīn para ekam āhuḥ X-82-2.

24. Nodhas I-62-4. Viśvāmitra III-7-7. Kuśika III-31-5. Atri V-43-1. Bharadvāja VI-22-2. Kaśyapa IX-92-2.

25. Viśvāmitra III-10-4. Bharga (this is by mistake printed as Bhārgava) VIII-60-16. The passage is sapta hotāras tam id īḷate tvā. The meaning given in the book must be revised. Kaśyapa IX-114-3. Devaśravas X-17-11. Luśa (this is by mistake printed as Śuna) X-35-10. Nābhānediṣṭha X-61-1. Gaya X-63-7.

26 Vāmadeva IV-16-3. Sadhri X-114-7. Citramahas X-122-4.

27. X-71-3.

28. Gṛtsamada II-1-2; see also verses 3 ff.

29. Bhṛgu's poems are IX-65 and X-19. See Taittirīya Upaniṣad Vallī III, where Bhṛgu, son of Varuṇa is spoken of.

30. Bhṛguvat VIII-43-13. Vāmadeva IV-16-20. Manu is a mistake. It is Prajāpati Vaiśvāmitra or Vācya IX-101-13. Ghoṣā X-39-14.

31. (1) I-58-6. (2) I-127-7. (3) I-143-4. (4) II-4-2. (5) III-2-4. (6) III-5-10. (7) IV-7-1. (8) VIII-15-2. (9) VII-18-6. (10) VIII-3-16. (11) VIII-6-18. (12) VIII-35-3. (13) X-14-6. (14) X-46-2. (15) X-46-9. (16) X-92-10. (17) X-122-5.

34. In ancient works, the chief poet of a Book is known as the Amita-ṛṣi and the other members of the family are known as Mita-ṛṣi. Mādhava son of Veṅkaṭārya says in his introductory verses to the commentary of the Ṛgveda called the Ṛgartha Dīpikā ṛṣiṙ nāsty amito 'trīṇām (V-iii-22). Aśvins I-116-8. 117-3, 118-7, V-78-4, VI-50-10, VII-71-5, X-39-9, etc.

35. Example for sacrifices I-45-3. Vasuśruta IV-4-9. Viśvasāman V-22-1. Svasti V-51-8. Bāhuvṛkta V-72-1.

36 (1) I-51-3. (2) See note on paragraph 34. Parucchepa I-139-9. Agastya I-180-4; I-183-5.

37. VI-50-10. Vasiṣṭha VII-71-5. Brahmātithi VIII-5-25. Śyāvāśva VIII-35-19 and VIII-36-7; see also VIII-36-6 and 38-8. Nābhāka VIII-42-5. Gopavana VIII-73-3, 7, 8. Ghoṣā X-39-9. Agni X-80-3. Atri X-143, 1 to 3. Mṛlīka X-150-5.

38. Kumāra V-2-6. Iṣa V-7-10. Dharuṇa V-15-5. Atri V-40-6, 8. Paura V-73-6, 7.

39. Atri Sāṅkhya is poet for X-143.

40. Kālidāsa: atha nayanasamuttham jyotir atrer iva dyauḥ (II-75).

42. For Atharvaveda see The Vedas, Andhra University, Chapter I.

44. Atharvan in the other world: X-14-6. Bharadvāja VI-15-17. Pāyu X-87-12.

45. (1) I-80-16, 83-5. (2) VI-16-13, 14. (3) VI-47-24. (4) VIII-9-7. Here the word Atharvan is in the singular and not plural. (5). IX-11-2. (6) X-21-5. (7) X-48-2. (8) X-120-9.

46. Atharvya I-112-10. The word is Atharvya and not Ātharvya: Athari IV-6-8 where it is feminine. There is the element Athar in this word. See Atharyo na dantam in the passage. There is also Atharyu (VII-1-1), where there is the element Athar with the suffix yu.

47. Kālidāsa: Raghuvaṁśa I-59.

48. Poems about Indra I-80-16. His bones I-84-13.

49. Story of Madhu Vidyā I-116-12. This is by Kakṣīvān.

50. Parucchepa I-139-9. Bharadvāja VI-16-14. Dadhyaṅ and Navagva IX-108-4. The poet is Uru of the Aṅgiras Family and not Gaurivīti. Indra X-48-2.

51. Avesta. See Gāthā 28-10. The word is Dātheng which is the accusative plural of Dātha. The word means " the wise ". The word occurs in other places also: Gāthā 32-10; 46-15, 17; 50-2 and 51-5.

52. The poems of Uśanā: VIII-84; IX-87 to 89. Poems about him: V-29-9, 31-8. It is not completely about him. The poets are Gaurivīti and Avasyu. Vāmadeva: IV-16-2. Vṛṣagaṇa: IX-97-7. The name is not Vṛṣāgaṇa. Savya: I-51-10. Gotama: I-83-5. Kakṣīvān: I-121-12. Parucchepa: I-130-9. Vāmadeva: IV-26-1. Saṁvaraṇa: V-34-2. Punarvatsa: VIII-7-26. Viśvamanas: VIII-23-17. Vimada: X-22-6.

53. Soma IX-87 to 89. VIII-84 is addressed to Agni.

56. Kutsa's poems are: I-94 to 98, 101 to 115, IX-97, 45 to 58. There are fourteen and not four verses in the Poem in the IX Book.

58. Śuṣṇa is mentioned in many places like I-63-3, 121-9 etc. He rode on the same chariot as Indra: IV-16-11, V-29-9. Charioteer: II-19-6, VI-20-5. Gave the wheel to Kutsa: V-29-10. See also IV-30-4.

59. Plural: VII-25-5. His son: X-105-11. Ārjuneya: I-112-23, IV-26-1, VII-19-2, VIII-1-11. Compound with Indra: V-31-9. Mention with Atithigva and Āyu: I-53-10. See also VI-18-13. Once the mention is in the Vālakhikya: VIII-53-2.

60. Aśvins: I-112-9, 23. This mention is by Kutsa himself. In the second, he is spoken of as the son of Arjuna. He is mentioned along with Atithigva and Āyu as an enemy whom Indra defeated.

62. Kaṇva is the poet for I-36 to 40 and IX-94. Son of Nṛṣad: see I-117-10, X-31-11.

63. Parucchepa: I-139-9. Aśvins gave him sight: I-118-7. See also many passages where the Aśvins helped him: I-47-5, 112-5, VIII-5-25, 8-20. Turvaśa and Yadu: VIII-7-18. Agni: X-150-5. Kaṇvatama: 115-5. See also I-48-4. Kaṇva kindled Agni: I-36-10, 11.

66. Story of Ekata etc. I-105. Kutsa narrates stories: I-112. The same stories are alluded to by Kakṣīvān in I-116, 117, 118 and 119.

CHAPTER VIII

2. X-129.

3. Stātus caratham: I-58-5, 68-1, 70-4. There are places where the combination is Sthātuḥ and Jagataḥ: I-159-3, IV-53-6, VI 50 7, VII-60-2 and X-63-8. Since Jagataḥ is combined with Tasthuṣaḥ I took the

combination of Sthātus caratham as the major one. Jagatas tasthuṣaḥ: I-89-5, 115-1, VII-32-22, 66-15, 101-6. Amṛtam martyam: I-35-2. See also amartyo martyenā sayoniḥ (I-164-30, 38). This contrast is quite plain, though the occurrences are few. Their relation to the other two combinations is very significent.

11. See aśatrur indra jajñiṣe (X-133-2) and also aśatrur indra januṣā sanād asi (I-102-8). It may be noted that Tapas is not penance of the later language.

12. Kāma is not love or desire: it is a will and the passage is the basis for the Upaniṣadic statement: tad aicchata bahu syām prajāyemeti.

13. I think that the material aspect of the basic fundamental of the Sāṅkhya is called Tamas because of this word Tamas in the poem. See also the passage: guru varaṇakam eva tamaḥ in Sankhya Kārikā 13, and here it is also said in the poem that the reality is covered by something that is Tucchya. Manas in the poem does not mean the Manas of the Sāṅkhya; it is to be equated with the Antaḥkaraṇa of the Sāṅkhya.

17. The reference to the Gods must be taken along with the statement in the Puruṣa Sūkta (X-90): tena devā ayajanta (verse 7) and yajñena yajñam ayajanta devāḥ (verse 16, and also I-164-50). The later appearance of the gods is described in Bṛhaspati's poem on the birth of the gods (X-72).

19. The only entity that could know is the intelligent Absolute of the Puruṣa Sūkta. Perhaps he too could not be an agent in knowing. When there is only the Absolute, there can be no knowing and when there is the object to be known, then too that Absolute cannot be the agent for such a knowing: it can only be the Virāṭ of the Puruṣa Sūkta (X-90-5), and they came later than the diversification. So the diversification cannot be known to any entity. It is not at all suggested that the Puruṣa Sūkta is earlier than this poem. There were various currents of thought that were brought into the poems.

20. See tasmād api cāsiddham parokṣam āptāgamāt siddham Sāṅkhya Kārika 6.

21. Kaivalya. See Sāṅkhya Kārika; Kāivalyārtham pravṛtteś ca (17).

22. See asadakaraṇāt. Sāṅkhya Kārika 9.

24. X-90.

28. I think that the gods came as a part of the Virāṭ, which consists of the agent and the object, life and matter. It is the matter side that became the object for the ritual of worship.

30. Gods hinted at in verse 6,

32. The main division of Metrical Veda and Prose Veda is found here. Then the former is divided into Ṛk and Sāman. Atharvan is not mentioned. See also Atharvaveda XII-1-38 where that Veda does not seem to be included. In the closing verse of the poem of Bṛhaspati there are four kinds of participants in a ritual implied. But I am not sure if the Brāhmaṇas mentioned there have anything to do with the Atharvaveda. They are the poets who compose new poems and recite them at the ritual (X-71-11).

34. This indicates only a division of civic functions and not a classification of the people into four parts.

37. Dīrghatamas. I-164, 50.

42. The question in verse 5 and the reply in verse 6 of X-129, indicate some sort of agent who cannot be determined. It is not a denial, in an open way. It is more agnosticism and not antitheism. The second poem is X-90.

41. There is a Nārāyaṇopaniṣad. The word also occurs in some Saṁhitas.

42. X-81 and 82 and X-121.

43. X-121.

44. The classical commentators take the word Ka to mean God.

47. I am not sure if the mountain with snow is the Himalaya.

52. X-81, 82.

54. This implies only a construction and not a creation.

62. Puruṣa Sūkta X-90-7.

74. X-72.

77. See I-164-20 ff. Double personality in 30 and 38 of that poem. Also verses 5, 6 and 7.

CHAPTER IX

6. See yuṣmad-asmat-pratyaya-gocarayor viṣaya-viṣayiṇos tamaḥ-prakāśavad viruddha-svabhāvayoḥ.

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ABOUT THE AUTHOR

BORN in the ancient royal family of Chittenjore, Kerala, on the 18th September, 1895, Dr. C. Kunhan Raja had his early education at home in Sanskrit to a very high standard, according to the practice in the family. Then he had a brilliant academic career in the Madras University and in Europe, having been trained at Oxford, Heidelberg and Marburg. When he returned, he spent a year at Vishvabharati and then became the first Professor of Sanskrit in the Madras University (1927-1950). He then went abroad as the first Professor of Sanskrit in the Teheran (Iran) University on deputation by the Government of India (1950-1954), and later he became the first Professor of Sanskrit in the Andhra University (1954-1960). While in Madras, he was also in charge of the Adyar Library (1926-1953).

He has published many books, mostly editions of Sanskrit works on the basis of rare and insufficient material, with critical notes and Introductions and has contributed many articles to various journals. He has organised research and planned courses of studies. He was connected with various academic institutions and has handled many important manuscripts libraries. At the end of 1960, his health broke down and he was compelled to resign his position in the Andhra University and retire to Bangalore where he has settled down (3, Laurel Lane, Bangalore 1), with an immense programme of literary and cultural activities, both in research and in general exposition.

A profound philosopher with very enlightened literary talents, he is original and daring in his thoughts, independent in views and frank and fearless in expression. He never looks for favours and seldom appears in the lime-light. A fluent speaker, he wields also a facile pen both in English and Sanskrit. In spite of advancing age and failing health, he spends his time in study, dedicating himself to the service of ancient Indian culture.

SAṀVANANA

सं सं इद्युवसे वृषन्नग्ने विश्वान्यर्य आ ।
इळस्पदे सं इध्यसे स नो वसून्या भर ॥

Sam sam id yuvase vṛṣann agne viśvāny arya ā
Iḷas pade sam idhyase sa no vasūny ā bhara

O Agni the strong, you the noble one, bring the utmost union among all. You shine in the earthly abode. May you bring prosperity to us!

Ṛgveda, X. 191. 1

GANESH-MADRAS

1733

DR.C.KUNHAN RAJA

POET-PHILOSOPHERS OF THE ṚGVEDA

131.4